

► Replacing Scalia: What Would Alexander Hamilton Do?

# Newsweek®

03.04.2016

# SLAMMING ISIS

ON PATROL  
WITH IRAQ'S  
SPECIAL  
FORCES






# Newsweek

## FEATURES

---

A large Iraqi flag with horizontal stripes of red, white, and black, and green Arabic script in the center, is flying from a pole. Below it, the top of a dark, armored military vehicle is visible against a clear blue sky.

### *HOW IRAQI FORCES DROVE ISIS FROM RAMADI*

They passed a big test in Anbar, ousting ISIS from the provincial capital, but Baghdad's security forces have a long way to go.

### *NOWHERE TO TURN: SUNNIS FLEEING ISIS SEEK SANCTUARY*



DOWNLOADS



Newsweek  
*THE GOP IS VIOLATING THE SPIRIT OF THE CONSTITUTION*



Newsweek  
*AFGHAN IDOL BELTS OUT DOMESTIC VIOLENCE PROTEST SONG*



Newsweek  
*WHY JUNIOR DOCTORS ARE GOING ON STRIKE IN ENGLAND*



Newsweek  
*THE PERSIAN RUG TRADE IS BACK IN BUSINESS*

NEW WORLD



*NEW APP  
TURNS  
PHONES INTO  
EARTHQUAKE  
ALERT SYSTEM*

*CANCER  
'VISIONARY'  
STANDS TRIAL  
FOR MEDICAL  
MALFEASANCE*

*WOODEN  
BUILDINGS AS  
STRONG AS  
STEEL*

DOWNTIME



*ON THE HUNT  
FOR THE  
BALKANS' MOST  
WANTED*

*A CONVERSATION  
WITH DENIZ GAMZE  
ERGÜVEN*

*CLEANSE YOUR  
SPIRIT AT EUROPE'S  
LAVISH  
PARKSCHLÖSSCHEN*

*HOW TO  
(VIRTUALLY)  
SURVIVE IN POST-  
APOCALYPSE  
MANHATTAN*



BIG SHOTS

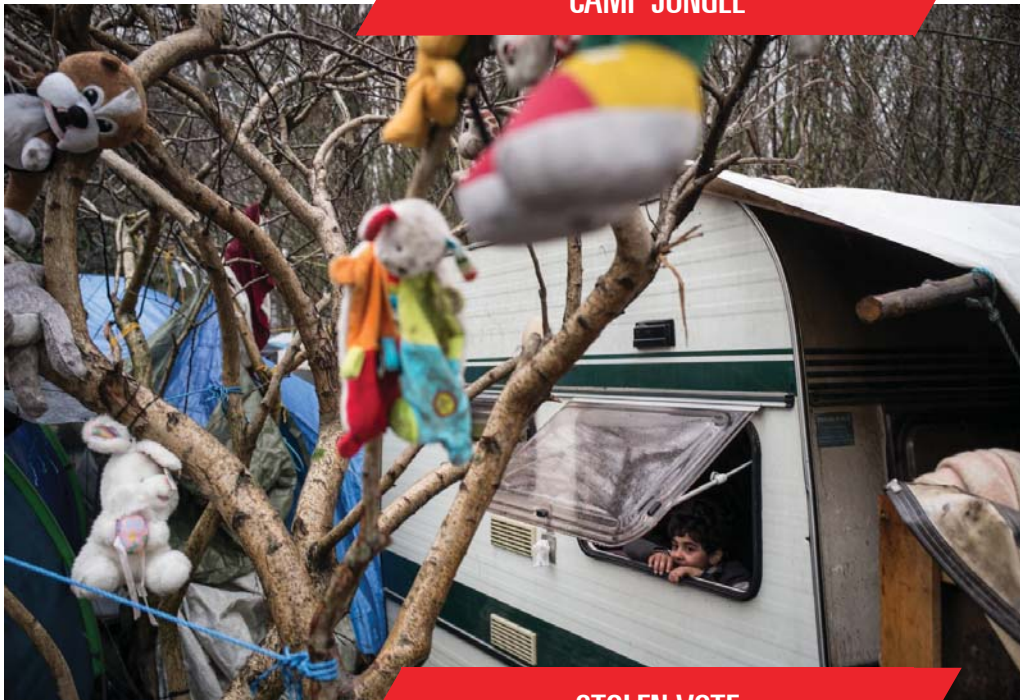
IN OR OUT?



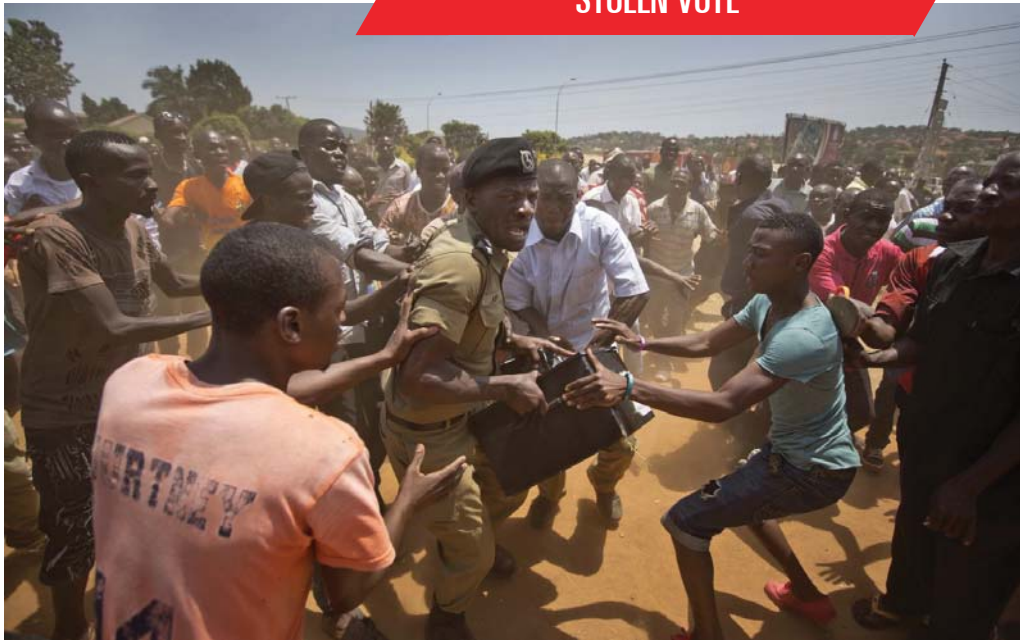
SOUTHBOUND



CAMP JUNGLE



STOLEN VOTE







Ahmad Al-Rubaye/AFP/Getty

# *HOW IRAQI FORCES DROVE ISIS FROM RAMADI*

**THEY PASSED A BIG TEST IN ANBAR, OUSTING ISIS  
FROM THE PROVINCIAL CAPITAL, BUT BAGHDAD'S  
SECURITY FORCES HAVE A LONG WAY TO GO.**

---

Feral cats roam the deserted, rubble-strewn streets. The rusted skeleton of a burnt-out car sits outside a house used as a bomb factory; inside, the kitchen floor is littered with mortar parts and metal shavings. Almost a month after Iraqi special forces reclaimed Ramadi from the Islamic State



militant group, Iraqi troops are still patrolling the streets and clearing booby-trapped buildings.

“Real estate office” reads a hand-lettered metal sign featuring the now-familiar logo of ISIS, an organization in retreat in Iraq but far from defeated. The Iraqi special forces officers with whom I’m on patrol fling the sign onto the empty street. In the seven months that it held Ramadi, the capital of Anbar province, ISIS financed itself in part by selling off public property, according to residents. In some places, it punished former police officers by forcing them to buy back their own homes.

After the catastrophic collapse of Iraqi security forces in the face of the ISIS onslaught in 2014, recapturing Ramadi in late December has clearly restored confidence.



*Ramadi has seen clashes between ISIS and security forces since 2014, when this market was destroyed in an airstrike. Credit: Ali al-Mashhadani/Reuters*

“Iraqis are conquering everywhere now,” says Sergeant Major Hussein Youssef, who holds his rifle aloft as if he is posing for a recruiting poster. Youssef, a 26-year-old from Nasiriyah in southern Iraq, has been wounded four times and spent a total of six months in the hospital since he joined the special forces six years ago. (A few days after



we meet, shrapnel struck him in the leg as forces retook the neighborhood of Sarajiya, one of the last ISIS holdouts on the eastern outskirts of the city. As an engineer tried to dismantle a roadside bomb, two others next to it exploded.)

In a house on the edge of Ramadi that serves as a tactical operations center, Major General Sami al-Aridhi, 3rd Division commander of the Iraqi Special Operations Forces, gives his go-ahead for a U.S. airstrike on the edge of the city. The radio crackles with grid coordinates as an Iraqi colonel at the center, in barely accented English, answers an Australian officer who is part of the U.S.-led coalition at Taqqadum air base, about 24 miles southeast of Ramadi. The colonel tells Aridhi the target is 12 armed men on the outskirts of Ramadi in an area where there are no friendly forces. Aridhi agrees to the U.S. airstrike. “Sometimes we locate the targets, and sometimes it’s the Americans, but they don’t hit it until they get our permission,” says Aridhi, a former Iraqi army commander who was asked to return to duty in 2008.

The Iraqi colonel is from a different generation. A full colonel at the age of 34, Akram spent four years receiving training in the United States. He does not want to give his last name or be photographed, but his relaxed, self-assured demeanor, as well as his black trousers and shirt and desert boots, are reminiscent of the American special forces. He says such training has continued in Iraq, and it’s paying off. Iraqi security forces, Akram says, are certainly capable of succeeding against ISIS. “It’s not even a matter of opinion” he says. “We’re doing it on the ground. We just took over a city.”

It was not easy. More than 40 special forces troops and several hundred regular Iraqi army soldiers were killed in this latest battle for Ramadi. Special forces commanders say they killed around 130 ISIS fighters in the city and that about 180 civilians were killed in retaking the city—most by ISIS snipers and explosives laid by the group. As Iraqi



troops approached the city late last year, ISIS detonated trucks packed with tons of explosives on bridges across the Euphrates River to keep the troops from advancing. Digging in for a fight, the militants laid explosives throughout the center of the city, connecting bombs to the wiring of houses and laying trip wire under carpets. “Iraqis have a lot of experience in war, but we’ve never seen these methods of fighting,” says Aridhi, adding that almost all the buildings, even hospitals, were rigged with improvised explosive devices.

As the special forces troops advanced in Ramadi, they evacuated almost 4,000 civilians, whom they say ISIS had herded from district to district to use as protection against airstrikes. Medic Zuhair Jameel al-Said says he was able to lead hundreds of women and children to safety—except for one. As the troops were directing families onto a road that engineers had cleared of explosives, a bomb exploded in a house, scaring a small boy, who started running. When his mother raced after him, an ISIS sniper shot her in the chest. “She was six months pregnant,” Said says. He put her in an ambulance, gave her oxygen and tried to keep her heart going, but he didn’t know how to insert a chest tube that would have evacuated the blood from her lungs. She died before reaching the clinic. “We lost the mother and the baby at the same time,” says Said, who sobbed when she died.

The Iraqi special forces found that the city had been divided into sectors. Fighters from Southeast Asia held one area, for example, and Russian and Chechen fighters had control of another neighborhood, one where ISIS leaders reportedly used to live. In some areas, ISIS bombs, Iraqi artillery and U.S. airstrikes had leveled almost entire city blocks.

The special forces troops say they are fighting to save Iraq. “We have Muslims, Christians, Yazidis, Kurds, Turkmen,” says one noncommissioned officer, referring to most of the religious and ethnic groups in the country.



But the ISIS takeover of large parts of Iraq has again laid bare the ethnic, tribal and sectarian fault lines that have been widening since President Saddam Hussein was toppled in 2003.

After the victory in Ramadi, the national police website featured a video of policemen beheading a captured ISIS fighter. In another photo, a fighter was hanged from the ceiling. The images were removed after complaints from Western officials.



*Cars carry coffins containing some of the 40-plus bodies found in a mass grave after Ramadi was recaptured, on January 27. Credit: Reuters*

At the destroyed police headquarters in Ramadi, glass has been punched out of the window frames, leaving shards like broken teeth. Lampposts lean into the rubble of concrete and twisted steel bars. Police Constable Mazen Adel says the new national police unit he joined fought with the special forces to retake the city and are staying to hold it. The government recruited 2,000 Sunni fighters from Anbar to play a supporting role in the battle of Ramadi. Another 4,000, including Adel, will become part of the new police force formed as an alternative to the widely distrusted Shiite-dominated federal police.

“There will never be reconciliation. We will completely crush them,” Adel says of the former ISIS supporters seeking amnesty, using the Arabic acronym for the group. “The people who support Daesh have no place in Anbar.”

The fall of Ramadi to ISIS in May 2015 was more than just a military setback. Iraqi security forces had abandoned the city, leaving tanks, artillery and weapons behind, prompting a parliamentary inquiry, as well as accusations from the U.S. defense secretary that Iraqi forces were unwilling to fight. That followed the collapse and retreat of two Iraqi army divisions in Mosul in the face of an ISIS onslaught in 2014. Widespread corruption—many officers allegedly bought their commissions to be in a position to demand bribes, and others profited by selling supplies meant for the troops—proved fatal when the army was faced with an actual enemy.

When ISIS swept through the country and the U.S. didn’t immediately step in, Baghdad turned to Iran for weapons, ammunition and military support. Iraq’s most revered Shiite cleric called on all able and willing Iraqis to fight the militants, creating the Popular Mobilization Forces—a combination of former militiamen and volunteers who have led the fight in central Iraq. Hundreds of PMF troops, acting under nominal command of the Iraqi government, have been killed, and several thousand wounded. But Anbar and its Sunni population have been largely off-limits to Shiite fighters of the PMF.

Retaking the Anbar provincial capital, an ordeal described by one U.S. commander as “tremendously slow” and “intensely frustrating,” has strengthened the resolve of Iraqi security forces. Still, “they move in fits and starts,” says U.S. Marine Corps Brigadier General William Mullen. “They move for a couple of days. They stop for a couple of days. After six months of ‘Why aren’t you moving today?’ it was ‘OK, we really need you to keep moving.’”



Mullen describes their victory in Ramadi with almost no involvement of the Shiite militias or the PMF as a game-changer. “When they first started doing this, they didn’t think they could do it, and at points it got very difficult,” he says. “We provided significant strikes for them, but the actual fighting on the ground, the wounding and the dying, was all done by Iraqis.”

Problems remain, however. One Iraqi army division commander in Ramadi was fired during the campaign for refusing to advance, and Western military officials say systemic reforms in the Iraqi military forces are still needed. The U.S. and U.K. spent years training Iraqi forces and reconstituting an army that had been disbanded after Hussein was toppled. When U.S. forces pulled out in 2011, the most effective training by advisers embedded within the units ended. U.S. commanders say they have seen the difference with counterterrorism troops that maintained a connection with U.S. forces. “All training is perishable,” says Lieutenant General Sean MacFarland, the U.S. commander of the anti-ISIS coalition in Iraq and Syria. “That’s why those brigades, when they were attacked by the enemy, never gave ground, and they held their own in almost every case. We will do that as we move north, and we saw the power of that.”

Iraqi army Brigadier General Yahya Rasool, who is the defense ministry spokesman, says bravery and loyalty are hard to teach. “How can I persuade my soldiers to die without hesitation?” he asks. “That is the art of leadership.”

Rasool’s cellphone ringtone is the Iraqi national anthem. In his office at the Defense Ministry in Baghdad’s Green Zone, an ad for the Iraqi security forces airs on state-run television, showing an Iraqi soldier kneeling after breaking the padlock of a church in Mosul. “The bells of Mosul will ring again,” the public service announcement intones. Rasool says the defeats of 2014 and early 2015 caused many Iraqis to lose faith in the army. “After the collapse in Mosul

and Salahadin, and also in Ramadi and other areas in Iraq, there was mistrust between the Iraqi people and the Iraqi army,” says Rasool. “The liberation of Ramadi restored trust between the Iraqi troops and the Iraqi people.”



*Iraqi forces stand with an Islamic State flag after they recaptured the University of Anbar, south of Ramadi on July 26, 2015. It would take another six months to take the city. Credit: Reuters*

But the special forces and the retrained brigades are an island in what many U.S. and Iraqi officials still consider a sea of dysfunction. U.S. and Iraqi officials widely blame former Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki for installing unqualified military commanders whose main claim to the job was personal loyalty. Around 40,000 “ghost soldiers” on the government payroll, who either didn’t exist or never showed up for duty, have been eliminated, but some Western military officials say tens of thousands more salaries are still being paid to nonexistent personnel both in the army and the PMF. Coalition officials say key army divisions are at less than 30 percent strength. “On the very senior levels, I think there has been a tightening, but...the corruption in the ranks



still exists, [and] the understaffing in the ranks still exists,” says a senior Western official.

There are currently 3,500 U.S. troops in Iraq, most involved in training, advising and assisting Iraqi security forces, with an unspecified but increasing number of U.S. special operations forces more actively involved on the ground with Kurdish forces. About 19,000 Iraqi soldiers have now gone through coalition training in five military bases across Iraq. At Besmaya, north of Baghdad, Iraqi army companies trained by coalition advisers are put through simulated battles with live fire—aimed at giving them the confidence to stay out on the battlefield and the skills to survive. While most of the six- to nine-week courses focus on training as basic as how to hold a rifle, more specialized courses teach combat engineering and battlefield medical skills.

U.S. Ambassador Stuart Jones says when Ramadi fell to ISIS this past May, the U.S. was unfairly blamed for a failure of leadership and a lack of support. “This represents the reversal of that,” Jones says. “It vindicates the U.S. strategy of providing air support.... A lot of the units involved in retaking Ramadi were trained by the United States.”

While few dispute the need for the former Shiite militias in 2014 to prop up the weakened Iraqi security forces, now that ISIS is in retreat, the major question is whether they will willingly be disbanded once the battle is over.

“We have a lot of different groups out there on the battlefield,” says MacFarland. “A lot of them are pursuing their own agendas. Some of them are pursuing agendas that are aligned with our agenda, and what we try to do wherever possible is get some sort of synergy between them and us.”

Rasool, who worked alongside American troops fighting the Mahdi Army in Sadr City in 2008, acknowledges the inherent tension between the influential Iranian-backed members of the PMF and the United States, as well as the

fluidity of armed Iraqi groups. The Sadrist forces that fought against the United States have now become a mainstream political movement. Leading members of the PMF, including Kataib Hezbollah and Asaib Ahl al-Haq, have been blamed for attacks against U.S. forces while they were in Iraq and have pledged to attack any American ground forces. “There is a sensitivity by the Popular Mobilization Forces to the [U.S. presence in Iraq],” says Rasool, adding that the PMF blames the U.S. for a friendly fire airstrike last year that killed some of its members. The U.S. has denied hitting any PMF forces and says only Iraqi aircraft were conducting strikes in those sectors. But concern about accidentally bombing Iranian-backed fighters has imposed strict boundaries on where the U.S. is willing to operate in Iraq.

At the command center responsible for coalition operations in Baghdad and Anbar, Mullen presides over a room of American and other coalition officers, as well as Iraqis. Walls of screens show intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance images beamed from drones and other aircraft to enable targeting. One of the screens is focusing on a Humvee in ISIS-held territory ahead of Iraqi forces moving down the Tharthar canal in Anbar province. Mullen says his main aim is to ensure “the people we are hitting are the enemy—not civilians, not Iraqi soldiers, and most importantly they’re not PMF.

“If we hit them, we’ll never be able to convince them that it was an accident, so that’s one of the reasons why we generally don’t provide support in those areas,” says Mullen, a Marine commander in Fallujah during the battle of 2004 and calmer days in 2007 and 2008. He says the problem in keeping track of PMF forces is “they don’t report where they are.”





*Iraqi Shiite fighters of the Popular Mobilization Forces guard a tank near Fallujah in July 2015. Credit: Ahmad Al-Rubaye/AFP/Getty*

When ISIS swept south in 2014 and 2015, seizing towns and coming within 40 miles of Baghdad, it was the PMF that largely halted the advance. The largest of the roughly 30 groups under the umbrella of the PMF began as Iran-based militias to fight Hussein, such as the Badr Organization led by Hadi al-Ameri. The others include smaller groups not under clear control of any official authority. All have been accused of human rights abuses, including preventing Sunni villagers from returning to their homes and conducting reprisals after attacks on Shiites.

“I don’t care if the West approves of us or not,” says Ameri, whose visage has started to appear on billboards in Baghdad, with some showing rousing scenes of him on the battlefield with Iranian Quds force leader Qassem Soleimani. He denies that fighters under his command are committing human rights crimes. “[U.S. President Barack] Obama was sleeping—he had not woken up for four months until ISIS arrived near Erbil.... If we counted on the Americans, then ISIS would control Baghdad and all of Iraq. Should we be defeated so the West approves of us?”

Known as a gifted politician, Ameri says he prefers to talk about the present rather than any ambitions he has for higher political office. “The Americans are standing with the Saudis and with our enemies,” he says. “Very frankly, we are looking for friends: Iran is a friend, and we are looking for another friend—Russia, instead of America.” Ameri adds that he and his allies are also reaching out to China. “Let’s talk about the end of ISIS, and then we will talk about the end of the PMF.”

Though only specially recruited Sunni members of the PMF took part in the Ramadi assault, the group’s wider influence is clear. Southwest of Baghdad, the road to Najaf and Karbala passes the renamed town of Jurf al-Nasr (Victory Cliffs), largely deserted of its former Sunni residents. Neon green calligraphy flashes “Allahu akbar” from a mosque near the road, illuminating the yellow flag of Kataib Hezbollah, which fought off ISIS in the area in October 2014. The highway is also the only truck route to Ramadi. An Iraqi special forces convoy of armored vehicles is made to wait for over an hour at a checkpoint while the young Kataib Hezbollah officer determines whether it should be allowed to proceed.

Ameri says the PMF has a responsibility to stop the smuggling of ammunition and other supplies to Fallujah, which ISIS still controls. But Western officials say Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi and even Ameri struggle with the renegade nature of the group. For example, when World Bank reconstruction funds, partly provided by the U.S., were allocated for Tikrit, the PMF stole two generators powering a water treatment plant, Western officials say. They were returned only after the U.N. threatened to freeze further funds.





*Iraqi Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi, seen here visiting the Habbaniyah camp in Ramadi on July 17, 2015, has struggled to balance the roles of the army, special forces and former militias. Credit: Reuters*

“This is not working the way it is supposed to work,” says one senior Western official. “There is a level of national government and oversight that is acknowledged, but it is difficult to enforce.”

Ramadi, which had around 250,000 residents before ISIS took over, is now deserted. There is no electricity coursing through the hanging electricity lines, no water running through the pipes. And with Iraq suffering its worst financial crisis since 2003, there are no immediate prospects for raising reconstruction funds or enabling the civilians driven out by ISIS to return home. The last residents evacuated from the provincial capital are now largely in desolate camps in the former lakeside resort of Habbaniya and Amariyat al-Fallujah near the outskirts of Baghdad.

The war against ISIS has coincided with an unprecedented economic crisis that Western officials worry will prompt riots if Iraqi government payrolls can no longer be met. The plunge in oil prices and the cost of the war have led to monthly deficits of more than \$2.5 billion. Finance Minister Hoshyar Zebari says the country, in part with U.S. financing, has covered the basic costs of the

military campaign. He says Iraq plans to refloat a \$2 billion international bond issue this year to raise funds. Other measures include reducing subsidies on fuel and electricity, cutting the bloated civil service and implementing customs duties—all controversial in Iraq.

“I’m honest with people,” says Zebari. “I’m alerting them that this year is difficult. Unless you change, you won’t be able to get your salaries. We have to educate people to make them aware that they cannot continue the way they used to.”

While foreign aid has come in to help reconstruct Tikrit, which was recaptured last April, there is none in the pipeline for Anbar, where 1.1 million of the province’s 1.6 million population have been displaced. “Ramadi needs international effort to rebuild,” says Anbar Governor Sohaib al-Rawi, who is still based in Baghdad. He estimates between 20 and 80 percent of Ramadi has been destroyed, depending on the neighborhood, including the electricity grid, bridges, hospitals and schools. He says of an estimated \$20 billion repair bill, “not a single dollar has been pledged so far.”

Without the money that has traditionally eased reconciliation and pacified tribes, the future of some areas recovered from ISIS looks precarious.

“The liberation of Anbar is the beginning of partition of the region and the beginning of the partition of Iraq and the beginning of redrawing the map of the area,” says former parliamentary speaker Mahmoud al-Mashadani, head of a largely Sunni bloc in parliament. Mashadani, like many Iraqis, believes the United States deliberately fostered ISIS to destroy Iraq. “If they had given even medium weapons to the tribes, this would not have happened,” says the politician, who says he was jailed twice by Hussein and once by the American forces. But he also blames the Sunnis themselves.

“There is widespread injustice in Iraq, and that has negatively impacted the Sunnis,” he says of the Shiite-



dominated government. “But the Sunnis are also to blame. They have a responsibility, given their lack of participation in the political process.”

During the fight against Al-Qaeda, the alliance between Sunni tribal leaders and U.S. forces relied largely on discretionary funds dispensed by the U.S. military—most often suitcases of cash. With the expiry of a status of forces agreement in 2011, the U.S. military in Iraq has neither the same authority nor the money to buy alliances. Many of the tribal leaders who profited most from the U.S. funds have sat out of the Anbar battle, observing from Iraq’s Kurdistan region, Jordan or Qatar.

The fighters in Ramadi say ISIS is a much more formidable enemy than its predecessor, Al-Qaeda in Iraq. “Before, we cleared the city with local fighters and defeated Al-Qaeda, but now ISIS is not only in Iraq—it is in Syria,” says police Constable Mohammad Ali Nauman, a former technical college student who joined the force two months ago. “The tribes are not as strong as they were in 2007 and 2008. The leaders are looking out for their political interests and not the interests of the people.”

MacFarland denies that the funding empowered corrupt local leaders without a legitimate traditional power base. He says when he left Iraq in 2007, Ramadi was one of the safest cities in the country. “The sheikhs are the sheikhs,” he says. “They all come together for a common purpose. Who are the right sheikhs, who are the wrong sheikhs? Who are we to say?”



*Iraqi security forces keep watch on a rooftop in Ramadi on January 16, after recapturing the city from ISIS with U.S. support. Credit: Thaier Al-Sudani/Reuters*

The victory in Ramadi frees tens of thousands of Iraqi troops to move farther up the Euphrates into western Anbar, toward the Syrian border. But first, Fallujah, to the southeast, remains in ISIS hands. As has been the case since 2003, the toughest fight in the deeply conservative tribal province is expected to be there. Anbar's biggest city, Fallujah was the site of the fiercest clashes with U.S. forces, seen as foreign occupiers after they toppled Hussein and then stayed in Iraq.

Using sweeping anti-terrorism laws over Prime Minister Maliki's eight years in office, his security forces replicated some of the most contentious U.S. military practices, arresting hundreds of men at a time in villages accused of sympathizing with Al-Qaeda and later ISIS. His markedly sectarian government went further, holding thousands of Sunnis for years without charge and sentencing hundreds to death based on what human rights groups say were coerced confessions. Many Fallujah residents initially welcomed ISIS.



In a measure of how difficult the fight there is expected to be, Iraqi military officials are talking about surrounding Fallujah to cut off ISIS supply lines rather than immediately retaking it. Isolating the city would also risk starving the civilian population.

As for Mosul, in northern Iraq, security forces are still in the planning stages for an assault. “There are places that should be liberated before Mosul,” says Ameri, an influential leader in the PMF. “Before Mosul, we have the area from the north of Ramadi to Al-Qaim near the Syrian border.”

Mosul, Iraq’s third biggest city and one of the capitals of the self-declared ISIS caliphate, is divided among mostly Sunni Arabs, Kurds and other ethnic and religious minorities. The role to be played by the potentially inflammatory PMF, as well as the Kurdish peshmerga, is still being negotiated.

“Mosul will be a very hard fight, and it will have to be very, very carefully choreographed” to use the right type of forces, says a senior Western official. In a U.S.-brokered thaw in otherwise chilly relations, the Iraqi government and Kurdish leaders have recently agreed to stage Iraqi troops at a Kurdish military base in Makhmour, about 70 miles southeast of Mosul, in preparation for an assault on the city.

“I think, as a fighting force, give them a few months to re-equip and to rest and move on up the Euphrates River and across to Mosul,” says a senior Western diplomat. “I think they are capable of doing it, but...it will be a stretch to ask them to do it in the next six months, and then you’re into summer. These guys have been fighting solid for two years, and you just can’t keep going.”



Moises Saman/Magnum

## *NOWHERE TO TURN: SUNNIS FLEEING ISIS SEEK SANCTUARY*

**MOISES SAMAN TRAVELED TO IRAQ TO PHOTOGRAPH  
SUNNIS UPROOTED FROM THEIR HOMES.**

---

Not long ago, Lake Habbaniya was a place for weddings and honeymoons, beach parties and family picnics. Just a few hours' drive west of Baghdad, the lake became a top vacation spot after a luxury resort opened there in 1979, with tennis courts, fairground rides and lush gardens. For



several years after the fall of former Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein, the resort was used as a refugee shelter, but in 2009 U.S.-led forces helped get it back into the tourism business. As recently as 2012, Jet Skis glided across the shimmering waters of Lake Habbaniya and Iraqi children played barefoot on the beach.

That seems hard to imagine now. The once-popular resort is in Iraq's Sunni Arab heartland: Anbar province, a former Al-Qaeda stronghold. Cities like Fallujah in Anbar were the scenes of the bloodiest battles between U.S. troops and Sunni insurgents after the 2003 U.S.-led invasion. In the first half of 2014, the Islamic State militant group (ISIS) occupied much of Anbar; now Iraqi special forces are leading a campaign to reclaim it, with the backing of U.S. airstrikes. Lake Habbaniya lies between Fallujah, which has been controlled by ISIS since January 2014, and Ramadi, which Iraqi forces recaptured in December.

When photographer Moises Saman visited the Habbaniya Tourist Village in early February, about 4,000 Sunni families, including many from Ramadi, were living there in the crumbling six-floor hotel, and in abandoned chalets and tents on the beach. They have no running water, electricity or sewage system and are dependent on humanitarian organizations, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) for emergency food assistance. Long gone are the days of boating and jet-skiing; the lake now provides drinking water to the refugee camp, with water pumped into a purification station rehabilitated by the ICRC.

The plight of tens of thousands of refugees fleeing ISIS has captured the world's attention in recent months; Iraqis and Syrians from war-torn areas have squeezed into overcrowded boats and made the dangerous crossing to Europe's southern shores. But even more Syrians and Iraqis are stranded in their own countries, uprooted from their homes in huge numbers, with nowhere to go.

According to figures from the International Organization for Migration, between January 2014 and August 2015, 3.2 million Iraqis were internally displaced. More than 40 percent, or 1.3 million, of them have fled from ISIS in Sunni-majority Anbar province. Most of them are too poor to afford the journey to Europe; others are unable to travel after suffering injuries in the recent conflict with ISIS or in the fighting that began after the 2003 invasion. Some have been displaced for nearly two years, living in camps where they cannot work, study or rebuild their lives.

Saman, who now lives in Barcelona, Spain, has spent a great deal of time working in Iraq over the past 14 years. He returned recently to document the new wave of Sunni displacement, visiting affected areas in the provinces of Baghdad, Anbar and Salahaddin. Saman wanted to bring attention to Iraq's Sunni community, whose suffering during the country's long periods of conflict and at the hands of ISIS has received relatively little attention—in part because other communities tend to regard Sunnis with suspicion. (Sunni Arabs belong, at least nominally, to the same branch of Islam as ISIS militants.)

“There's a narrative that a lot of the Sunni community supports ISIS, but it's really not that simple,” Saman says. Many of the people he met had relatives who had been killed by ISIS, while others used to be in the police or the army, so they were ISIS targets. “Most of the people in these camps fled because they did not want anything to do with ISIS.”

Few Sunni Arabs are willing to seek refuge in the Shiite-majority south, and even the Iraqi capital remains divided, with many Sunnis afraid of venturing out of their Baghdad neighborhoods, fearing they will be kidnapped or arrested.

In the areas Saman visited, many Sunnis said the mostly Shiite government in Baghdad does not represent them. They told him they felt marginalized in their own country. These are the same grievances that ISIS has been able to easily exploit—and they are unlikely to be resolved even if



Iraqi forces make military gains in Anbar. In the meantime, most of the displaced Sunnis simply dream of one day going home. But with their hometowns still on the front line (in Fallujah), or reduced to little more than rubble (in Ramadi), many have nowhere to go.



*A Sunni family who has recently arrived from Fallujah prepares to build a tent inside the Markazi camp, located about two miles from the Bzeibiz bridge over the Euphrates River, the main access point between Anbar and Baghdad provinces. The International Committee of the Red Cross distributes food parcels, cooking utensils and heaters to help families cope. As displacement continues, the organization is rapidly responding with more humanitarian relief.* Credit: Moises Saman/Magnum



*A man sells cotton candy in the Sunni-majority neighborhood of Adhamiya in Baghdad, now a temporary home for thousands of Sunnis displaced by fighting between ISIS and Iraqi forces. More than 10 percent of all Iraqis have fled their homes but remain stuck within the country.* Credit: Moises Saman/Magnum



*The Habbaniya Tourist Village, a former vacation spot 50 miles west of Baghdad, is now home to some 4,000 families from Ramadi and Fallujah who have fled the conflict with ISIS. The resort lacks basic infrastructure: People live here with no electricity, running water or sewage system.* Credit:

Moises Saman/Magnum





*Siham Sabah Mozin, 65, lies inside a tent next to her 6-year-old grandson, Qusay. They are among 4,000 families who have fled ISIS-controlled areas to shelter in a former resort complex by Lake Habbaniya, a few hours drive from Baghdad. Credit: Moises Saman/Magnum*



*Nazhan Mohamed, 36, a shepherd with Down syndrome from the Sunni village of Albu Ajeel, lost his eyesight in 2005 during a violent encounter with American troops who mistook him for a suicide bomber. Nazhan and his family fled their village last year when ISIS captured Tikrit and the surrounding areas. When they returned home in January, Nazhan and his family found that their home had partially burned down and their village mostly destroyed.* Credit: Moises Saman/Magnum



*Wassan Hassan, 30, sits in a wheelchair near her 10-year-old son Rami, inside a makeshift trailer home. After ISIS seized Ramadi last spring, Wassan and her family fled to the predominantly Sunni Adhamiya district of Baghdad. Wassan has been in a wheelchair since losing both her legs in December 2006; a rocket hit her Ramadi home during fighting between U.S. forces and Sunni insurgents, killing her sister. Credit: Moises Saman/Magnum*





*Men from a Sunni family survey the damage to their family home in Albu Ajeel, a village in Salahaddin Province, which was bombed and destroyed by ISIS militants as they retreated from the area last year. Many families have returned to find their houses reduced to rubble. To help returnees cope, the International Committee of the Red Cross has distributed food parcels and helped restore the water supply to Albu Ajeel residents.* Credit: Moises Saman/Magnum



*A girl stands between tents in the Markazi camp in Anbar Province. Most of the camp's residents fled fighting between ISIS and Iraqi special forces in Ramadi. According to the U.N. refugee agency, which opened the camp in October, more than 250,000 civilians have fled Ramadi since April 2015, but most of them have remained inside Anbar Province itself—living in schools and unfinished buildings or with relatives. Few families in the camp have any source of income, and many are in desperate need of health care and other aid. Credit: Moises Saman/Magnum*



*Children play in the predominantly Sunni district of Adhamiya in East-Central Baghdad. Hundreds of Sunni families have fled areas under ISIS control and sought temporary shelter here, but many of them still fear sectarian violence in the Iraqi capital.* Credit: Moises Saman/Magnum



*A hallway inside the Habbaniya Tourist Village hotel, once a luxury resort for Iraqi vacationers. In recent months, hundreds of displaced families have sought shelter in the former resort, which is located between the war-torn cities of Ramadi and Fallujah.* Credit: Moises Saman/Magnum





*Sara Adnan Mohamed, 10, draws a picture in the house she shares with her family, in the predominantly Sunni village of Albu Ajeel. The village of 20,000 residents lies on the outskirts of the city of Tikrit, in Salahaddin Province, that fell to ISIS militants in June 2014 and was recaptured by Iraqi special forces in April 2015. After being displaced for more than a year, Sara and her family returned to Albu Ajeel only to find their village mostly destroyed and their home partially burned down. Credit: Moises Saman/*

Magnum



*The Habbaniya Tourist Village used to be one of Iraq's most popular vacation spots. Now, hundreds of families from Ramadi and Fallujah have sought shelter in the dilapidated buildings, relying on the International Committee of the Red Cross and other humanitarian organizations for food and other relief items.* Credit: Moises Saman/Magnum

Moises Saman is an American-Spanish documentary photographer and a member of Magnum Photos. His book on the Arab Spring, *Discordia*, was published in February 2016.



Zach Gibson/The New York Times/Redux

# *THE GOP IS VIOLATING THE SPIRIT OF THE CONSTITUTION*

**BY VIOLATING THE SEPARATION OF POWERS, SENATE  
REPUBLICANS ARE THREATENING DEMOCRACY.**

---

Americans no longer deserve America. The Founding Fathers' experiment in democracy, forged in blood and scholarship, has failed.

There is no other way to interpret the obscene debate that has enveloped the country since the death of Supreme



Court Justice Antonin Scalia. Almost before Scalia's body went cold, prominent Republicans rushed to proclaim they would never vote to confirm any nominee submitted by President Barack Obama to fill the vacancy. Their declaration stemmed from a bizarre, anti-constitutional argument that a president should be allowed to have any Supreme Court nomination confirmed only during 75 percent of the executive term of office.

Make no mistake: That is exactly what the Republicans are saying with their "a president shouldn't have the power to select a justice in an election year." (Or is it just a Democratic president?) But why stop there? There are two elections in every presidential term, including the midterms, when control of the Senate is up for grabs. Shouldn't the public—using the Republicans' absurd "electoral year" argument—have a voice in deciding who can and cannot be confirmed by letting elections happen first?

For an example of how respect for the Constitution has decayed, look at the selection of Scalia, whom President Ronald Reagan nominated in 1986. His hearings began in August, about three months before the midterm elections. At the time, Republicans controlled the Senate, but polls showed the Democrats were almost certainly going to gain the majority in November. The Democrats had the power to filibuster and delay. Instead, Scalia was confirmed on September 17 by a vote of 98-0, just 49 days before the Democrats won control of the Senate by a wide margin. Forty days before the election, the Senate also approved Reagan's selection of William Rehnquist, who already sat on the high court, as chief justice.

After the 1986 midterms, the Senate's Democratic majority could have refused to confirm any more nominees in election years. But they didn't. Instead, they unanimously confirmed Anthony Kennedy in 1988, another election year. So two of Reagan's selections for new justices—and his choice of chief justice—were confirmed not only during

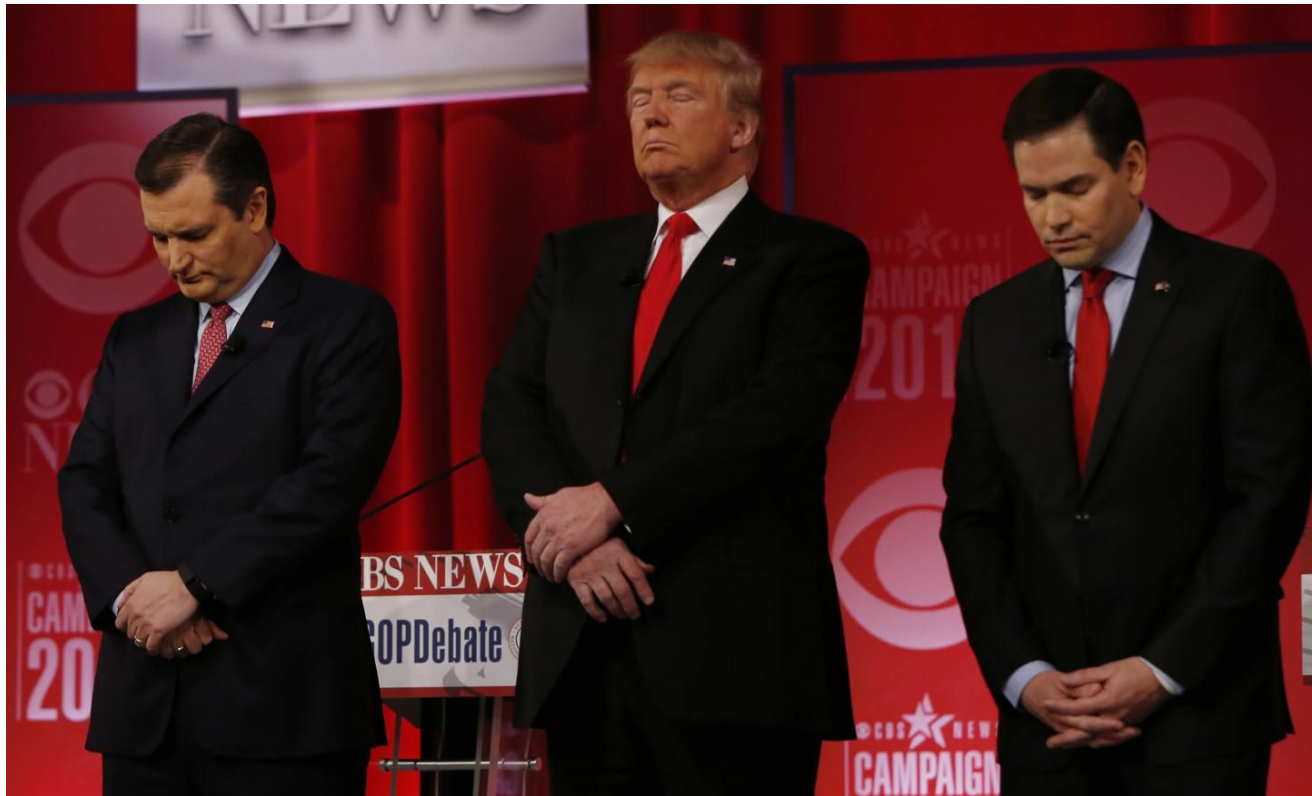
the run-up to a midterm election but also in a presidential election year.

It's not that Democrats are inherently moral. Reagan's first nominee for that Supreme Court opening ultimately awarded to Kennedy was Robert Bork, a brilliant man supremely qualified for the job. Democrats ripped him to shreds over ideological differences in ugly Senate confirmation hearings that brought disgrace to the party and sped the politicization of the court.

But Republicans have taken partisanship and perverted it into a pure power grab that has crippled the judiciary. Since gaining control of the Senate in 2015, GOP senators have largely stopped filling vacancies on the 12 federal appeals courts, which is also virtually without precedent. When faced with a Senate led by Democrats, Republican presidents since Reagan have been able to appoint between 10 and 18 appeals court justices during their final two years in office. During the years Obama has had a GOP majority in the Senate, only one has been confirmed; about a dozen seats are empty because the Republicans have refused to allow hearings on nominations. Now Obama will likely end the last two years of his presidency with the fewest appointments to the appeals bench since President Grover Cleveland left office in 1897—and that's only because there were no vacancies at the time.

While Republicans wave the Constitution, many of them seem to have no idea what the founders intended by giving the Senate the power to confirm nominations. Intent on forming a government unlike any other in history, these men spent enormous amounts of time discussing the issue of judicial appointments: Should they be selected by the president alone? By the Senate? By all of Congress? Finally, the founders settled on the concept that the president nominates and the Senate has the duty to “advise and consent.” The division of powers was based on the idea that

leaders with the capacity for shame would be compelled to act with integrity if both kept an eye on the other.



*At a GOP presidential debate hours after news of Scalia's death, candidates Ted Cruz, Donald Trump and Marco Rubio urged Senate Republicans to block any nomination by Obama.* Credit: Jonathan Ernst/Reuters

The writings of the founders make it clear that they designed checks and balances to prevent power grabs—in other words, confirmation was intended to be a shield to prevent presidents from nominating cronies, not a sword to stop the White House from having any power to fill openings in the judiciary. The Federalist Papers—the collection of 85 articles and essays written by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison and John Jay, the first chief justice of the Supreme Court—are the strongest in establishing the motives for including “advise and consent” in the Constitution. Hamilton wrote the relevant portions, which show the purpose of confirmation is to avoid granting the president the unchecked powers of a monarch.

But Hamilton never conceived, based on his writings, that a Senate would attempt to seize those absolute powers by refusing a confirmation purely for political purposes. In fact, Hamilton never imagined that the confirmation process would result in many rejections at all; the idea was simply



to prevent a president from submitting judicial nominations based on corrupt deals, friendships or patronage. Given the impact on the reputation of any rejected nominee, among other factors, “it is not likely that their sanction would often be refused,” Hamilton wrote, “where there were not special and strong reasons for the refusal.” That the president had begun the last quarter of his term in office would hardly be considered a “special and strong” reason.

Hamilton did not conceive of a day when warring between parties would virtually stop the passage of legislation and confirmations. Rather, he thought the ignominy of arbitrarily rejecting qualified candidates would keep the Senate in check. “The blame of a bad nomination would fall upon the President singly and absolutely,” he wrote. “The censure of rejecting a good one would lie entirely at the door of the Senate; aggravated by the consideration of their having counteracted the good intentions of the Executive.”

Hamilton also believed the power of the presidency was vested in the constitutional term of office, not just three-quarters of it, as the Republicans now hold. “As, on the one hand, a duration of four years will contribute to the firmness of the Executive in a sufficient degree to render it a very valuable ingredient in the composition,” he wrote. “On the other, it is not enough to justify any alarm for the public liberty.”

Although skeptical about man’s capacity for wisdom, Hamilton was still too optimistic to foresee the bloodlust of today’s Republicans. John Adams was less sanguine about the emergence of an unprincipled Senate. In 1789, when he was serving as George Washington’s vice president, Adams exchanged a series of letters with Roger Sherman, one of the Founding Fathers who proposed the makeup of the Senate at the Constitutional Convention. Adams wrote that he feared the Senate would break into political parties and become too

power hungry and diabolical in its attempts to undermine the president and cripple his powers.

“We shall very soon have parties formed; a court and country, and those parties will have names given them,” Adams wrote. “One party in the house of representatives will support the president and his measures and ministers; the other will oppose them. A similar party will be in the senate; these parties will study with all their arts, perhaps with intrigue, perhaps with corruption, at every election to increase their own friends and diminish their opposers. Suppose such parties formed in the senate and then consider what factious divisions we shall have there upon every nomination.”

Pish posh, Sherman replied. The scenario feared by Adams—where wealthy senators would band together corruptly to undermine the presidency—could not possibly occur “without a total subversion of the constitution.”

Exactly. Plenty of conservatives are now committed to the idea that simply because a power is in the Constitution, it can be abused by any opposing party in control of the Senate for purely political purposes. They cannot see that they are creating a weapon that will cripple an essential power of another branch of government.

So to hell with it. Constitutional democracy is being destroyed. Let’s stop pretending otherwise, allow each party to desecrate government for political advantage and just get the collapse of our country over with fast.



Andrew Quilty

# *AFGHAN IDOL BELTS OUT DOMESTIC VIOLENCE PROTEST SONG*

**ON 'AFGHAN STAR,' SAHAR ARIAN SANG  
METAPHORICAL LYRICS LAMENTING AFGHAN WOMEN'S  
LACK OF VALUE.**

---

As the band began playing a Latin-style beat, only Sahar Arian's silhouette was visible to TV audiences across Afghanistan. Slumped onstage, microphone in hand, she



began singing cloaked in darkness. “Poets only see my body in a poetic way,” she sang mournfully, in Persian. “When I bared my soul, they laughed at me.”

In late January, millions of Afghans watched Arian’s performance on [Afghan Star](#), a wildly popular singing contest modeled on American Idol. As the lights illuminated the 23-year-old singer, one of only two female contestants, it became apparent this wasn’t an ordinary performance. It was a protest. Cloaked in a blue burqa, pulled back to show her face, Arian had smeared on dramatic makeup to simulate a beating. Thick streaks of bloody red paint ran underneath her nose, staining her lips and chin. Black smudges around her eyes resembled swollen bruises.

As she rose to her feet to encouraging whistles from the audience, Arian discarded her burqa, belting out original, metaphorical lyrics lamenting Afghan women’s lack of value in society. At the end, she fought back tears, as the judges, also visibly moved, rose for a standing ovation.

“I always knew in my heart I would one day shout and scream about this issue,” Arian tells Newsweek in an interview at a recording studio in Kabul.

The U.N. estimates 87 percent of Afghan women have experienced physical, sexual or psychological violence, or forced marriage. Most Afghan women live confined by strict patriarchal controls, some even in communities that condone horrific gender-based violence. Challenging that status quo is risky. Female activists and parliamentarians regularly receive death threats. In 2014, Shukria Barakzai, an outspoken member of parliament and women’s rights advocate, survived an assassination attempt that killed three others.

Female contestants on Afghan Star are already considered rebellious by many, even if they are dressed in full Islamic clothing. After all, only 15 years ago the Taliban outlawed almost all forms of music and banned women

from leaving their homes without a guardian. So when Arian stood alone on the stage that night, her performance was immediately recognized as a remarkable act.

The sole female judge on Afghan Star, popular singer Aryana Sayeed, praised Arian, acknowledging how few are willing to take such a risk. “It was definitely brave of her, as there was a major potential for backlash,” Sayeed tells Newsweek.

“I was a small lamb in a wolf’s den,” Arian says. But, she adds, “I was not afraid.”

Arian has a life few Afghan women dream of: She lives in Kabul alone, without family. She grew up in Iran and later Azerbaijan, both countries that generally offer women more social freedoms. But Arian’s family retained the conservative values of their homeland, and her father forbade her to study music. She snuck out to lessons in secret, learning jazz, pop and opera, but when her father found out, she says, her home became her prison. After six months, she “ran away to Afghanistan to start a music career,” she explained.

“The hatred my family have for me because I sing” has been a central source of artistic inspiration, Arian says. “Then I saw what happened to Farkhunda. I wanted to voice both my anger and the anger of all women in Afghanistan.”

In March 2015, Farkhunda Malikzada, a young Afghan woman falsely accused of burning a Koran, was tormented, tortured and brutally murdered by a mob of men in downtown Kabul. Her sickening ordeal, captured by multiple cellphones, galvanized Afghanistan’s women’s rights movement. As her innocence came to light, Afghan women exploded in protests of unprecedented size and fury. Thousands gathered, screaming and shouting; they wept and painted their faces blood-red, collectively expressing anger at decades of mistreatment and injustice.

Since Malikzada's murder, Afghan women are daring to protest gender-based violence in ways never before seen in this country. In the past year, before Arian's performance, actress Leena Alam emotionally re-enacted Malikzada's murder in a public play staged near where she was killed. At the funeral, women refused to let men carry Malikzada's coffin, breaking with traditional ceremonial rites.

In November, young women also dominated a demonstration in Kabul to protest the stoning of a woman named Rokhshana. And in a provocative public art performance, Kubra Khademi walked a street wearing body armor with exaggerated breasts and buttocks to protest street harassment.

"I really think the public discussion [about violence against women] is at its peak at the moment," says Samira Hamidi, a veteran women's rights activist. She points to the near-weekly media reports of vicious attacks against women—fathers raping daughters, husbands cutting off wives' noses, stoning attacks—as an indictment of how bad the violence is, as well as a potentially positive development in that women and communities are increasingly reporting these crimes.

"Women are now more aware about where they can go for help and who they can talk to," she says. "Not just women but also the family, neighbors and the community—they are finally talking about it."

International donors have poured millions of dollars into supporting women's rights in Afghanistan, but many young women say they feel little connection to the activists and political elite that are regular fixtures at the multitude of conferences and events on women's rights, often sponsored by Western embassies. "Those women, especially the MPs, they have luxurious lives and can go abroad whenever they want," says Ghazal Aria, an 18-year-old student. "They don't understand me, and I don't think they achieve anything."



Her friend, Mural Sakhi, 21, agrees. “Sahar Arian’s performance was something new for us. She sings for the pain of all women,” she says. “I haven’t joined any protests yet, but Sahar really encouraged me to speak up.”

Artistic protests, a very new phenomenon in Afghanistan, “are more powerful and go much further on social and broadcast media,” says Ahmad Shuja, a researcher with Human Rights Watch. Performances like Arian’s “keep the message alive and help it go farther, reach new constituencies.”

Online, Arian’s performance went viral, sparking both praise and criticism. Omar Haziri, a 25-year-old shopkeeper, watched the video on YouTube after hearing about it from friends. “It was good she represented the pain and problems of women in our society,” Haziri says. “But I’m not sure it was done in a proper Islamic way.”

Many other young Afghan men have expressed similar views. Arian was within her rights to raise the issue, many say, but they object to her swaying to the music and to her clothes. (For the record, she wore a floor-length dress, with three-quarter sleeves and a loose black hijab.)

Arian says she received an anonymous, threatening phone call after her performance, but she remains unfazed. “I knew there would be a lot of people against me,” she says. “I just want to express women’s pain.”

She says she is not a political artist, but nevertheless her performance has bolstered the women’s rights movement. Afghanistan’s problems are so numerous, Hamidi says, that even events as shocking as Malikzada’s murder fade easily from public consciousness. “She showed that the movement is ongoing,” Hamidi says. “Afghan Star has a lot of viewers, and the judges showed a lot of emotion. People listen to them.”

She was voted off the show in late February, failing to make the top five, but Arian says she will continue to

sing for women. She has two songs ready for release, both addressing women’s rights. “One is called ‘Stoning,’” she says. “The other, which is my message to women, is called ‘Fly!’”



Coke Navarro

# WHY JUNIOR DOCTORS ARE GOING ON STRIKE IN ENGLAND

**AN OVERWHELMING 98 PERCENT OF JUNIOR DOCTORS VOTED TO STRIKE FOR THE FIRST TIME IN 40 YEARS.**

Junior doctors in England start on a basic salary of a little under £23,000 (\$32,900), so you'd think they'd be happy to be offered a pay raise of 13.5 percent. Not so fast. The government wants to change the way overtime is calculated in return, making most hours worked on Saturday normal



hours rather than overtime—a move that would leave many of them losing out, the doctors say.

After they were asked to vote on a proposed new contract in November, 98 percent voted to strike. They've held two 24-hour stoppages this year, the first strike action by English doctors in 40 years. The latest, on February 10 and 11, led to the cancellation of 3,000 surgeries. The dispute has cast a spotlight on the way the National Health Service (NHS)—often cited as a source of pride for the country because it offers free health care for all—treats its staff. **One recent poll** showed 64 percent of British voters blamed the government, with just 13 percent faulting doctors.

There are about 45,000 junior doctors working in England. Under their present contract, they can work for a maximum of 91 hours in any seven-day period (this will fall to 72), and on average they are supposed to work no more than 56 hours a week (dropping to 48 with the new contract). The starting salary of almost £23,000 rises to about £28,000 (\$40,100) in the second year, and the average salary for an English doctor in training is £37,000 (\$53,000). Some trainees in hospitals are still classed as junior doctors in their 14th year of work. Those at the top of the scale can earn in excess of £70,000 (\$100,300).

Health Secretary Jeremy Hunt has vowed to impose the contract without the agreement of the doctors, who have threatened more strike action. Critics of the government fear a “brain drain” to Australia and other countries that offer good opportunities for U.K.-trained doctors. On the day Hunt promised to impose the new contract, some 300 doctors applied for certificates that would allow them to move abroad, compared with an average of 26 a day earlier in February.

Others are considering quitting. “I have never considered leaving the NHS before,” says Robyn Jacobs, a junior doctor, but “I’m not going to spend the next 10 to 15 years of my life beaten down and undervalued.”





Jen Tse for Newsweek

# *THE PERSIAN RUG TRADE IS BACK IN BUSINESS*

**UNTIL OBAMA SIGNED AN EXECUTIVE ORDER LIFTING  
SANCTIONS ON IRAN, ALL PERSIAN RUGS HAD BEEN  
BANNED FROM ENTERING THE U.S.**

---

Sanctions on Iran were all about oil, right? Yes, but a little-known fact is that the international sanctions imposed over the past decade to curb Iran's nuclear ambitions had a



devastating effect on its second largest export: the **iconic Persian rug**.

Iran is one of the world's oldest continuous major civilizations, and the Persian carpet tells much of that story, tracing back **at least as far as the Bronze Age**. It has been infused with magical properties in tales such as **One Thousand and One Arabian Nights**, celebrated by everyone from **Edith Wharton** to **Sigmund Freud**, and has survived centuries of holy wars, colonialism and revolutions.

But until January, when President Barack Obama signed an executive order lifting sanctions, all Persian rugs—whether antique or brand-new—were banned from entering the U.S., regardless of how long they had been outside Iran. For instance, a Persian rug sold in London that had not been in Iran for more than a century still could not be shipped to the United States. Purveyors of Persian rugs in the U.S., Europe and elsewhere were forced to navigate convoluted rules imposed by the U.S. government that would shift every several years or so, depending on the political vicissitudes of the day.

“It’s been a lot of political nonsense over these beautiful rugs that were woven hundreds of years ago,” says Jahangir Nazmiyal, an Iranian who goes by his Americanized name Jason and owns the Nazmiyal Collection in New York, one of the biggest buyers and sellers of antique Persian rugs in the United States.

Western elites’ love affair with fine carpets spans centuries. “The Persian rug was long seen as a way for middle-class families to signal their upper mobility, going back to the late Victorian and Edwardian periods,” says Juan Cole, a University of Michigan history professor who specializes in the relationship between the West and the Muslim world. He says much of it stemmed from colonial-era excursions to the East, from which “the colonels would bring back these remarkable goods,” including Persian carpets.



*Nazmiyal Collections gallery manager Omri Schwartz explains how the nap of a rug lies in a specific direction, like a cat's fur, influencing its luster when viewed from certain angles. Given the tensions between Iran and Israel, Schwartz, a native-born Israeli, and Nazmiyal make a curious duo. "But for us, it's about the rugs," he says.* Credit: Jen Tse for Newsweek

"This moment that we're in is potentially a big turning point," Cole says. "The prospect for improved relations economically, politically and culturally between Iran and the West is entirely plausible. But I don't think there's going to be an easy thaw."

The U.S. first imposed sanctions on Iran after the 1979 U.S. hostage crisis and embassy seizure in Tehran and, later, over concerns about Iran's sponsorship of terrorism. Most recently, sanctions were escalated in 2010 (after being loosened in 2000) to dissuade Iran from acquiring weapons of mass destruction or developing a nuclear weapon, which Iran has denied attempting.

Nazmiyal has more than 3,000 rugs in his New York gallery worth anywhere from a few thousand dollars to millions apiece. Many were brought over before the Islamic Revolution, and he built up the collection during periods when sanctions were intermittently eased, continuing to sell



to clients in the United States. Nazmiyal's gallery manager is Omri Schwartz, 39, a native-born Israeli. Given the tensions between Iran and Israel, Schwartz says, he and Nazmiyal are aware they make a curious duo. "But for us, it's about the rugs," he says. "We differentiate between the people, the art and the country's policies," Schwartz says. "We never feel animosity toward the individual."

For generations, Persian rugs have been woven the same way on room-sized looms. The master weaver of the Persian rug is almost always a man, but the making of the rugs is a family business and has been for what is known of its 2,500-year history. "When a grandmother is doing it, she will teach the mother and they also will teach the children," Nazmiyal says. "A master weaver is someone who invents new designs, new techniques, new ways of putting colors together, and he will weave only 15 to 20 rugs in a lifetime. Some of the bigger rugs can take more than 60 years to finish."

The brilliant hues and designs reflect each Iranian town's distinct color palette of native plants and style. The master weaver may hand-dye his wool, teaching his wife and children to embellish on designs they sign with the family name—patterns shot through with flowers, animals and climbing vines bearing the distinctive stamp of their city of origin. In Tabriz, it may be birds and gardens; in Kerman, it may be leafy boughs in a vase-like spray; and in Heriz, closer to what was once the Russian border, geometric shapes and medallions abound.

Color is everything, as is the mood of the weaver. And the magic of this is that, although a rug may take decades to complete, the weaver's moods may change every day. "If it's an ugly orange, it just kills the value; there is nothing you can do," says Nazmiyal. "But if the weaver is in a good mood, he'll weave in some lucky charms. There is a whimsicality to the Persian rug. You really get a glimpse into the mind of the weaver and how he sees the world."

Nazmiyal, 55, hasn't been back to Iran since leaving in 1978, just before the Islamic Revolution, a popular uprising that toppled the country's U.S.-backed monarchy and led to the establishment of the country as an Islamic republic. Since then, his business has risen and fallen with the ebb and flow of sanctions. Under the most stringent measures, any Persian rugs, antique or modern, that were imported to the U.S. could be treated as contraband and destroyed, while the merchants involved could be imprisoned. "Can you imagine destroying a centuries-old Persian rug?" asks Nazmiyal. "You cannot buy a new one, because they are one of a kind. You cannot replace them."



*Nazmiyal Collections owner Jason Nazmiyal, left, consults with a staff member about rug pattern options at the shop. For the more than three decades since, sanctions have been a regular feature of U.S. policy toward Iran, frequently interfering with shipments of Persian rugs from anywhere outside the U.S., not just Iran.* Credit: Jen Tse for Newsweek

Despite the lifting of sanctions, he remains extremely skeptical, like many in the industry. "Who knows how long it will last?" he asks. "We have seen this before. Every few years, they come back and decide to change the rules again."

There is reason for his doubts. Even after Obama received word from the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency in January that Iran was in compliance with the nuclear deal, allowing him to lift the sanctions on January 16, U.S. government officials scrambled to explain the new rules, often contradicting themselves and confusing merchants.

Schwartz says lengthy phone calls to the Office of Foreign Assets Control, an offshoot of the U.S. Treasury Department that oversees the sanctions, often led to unnamed parties giving him information that he couldn't verify within the text of the new rules. For instance, whether he could export Persian rugs from the U.S., something that, just days ago, was a federal offense. (It turns out he can, OFAC tells Newsweek, but it took weeks for Schwartz to get the final answer.)

"If you read the rules, there's a lot of ambiguity and a lot of holes where you could see the law going either way," he says. "They won't speak in any official capacity when you call them, and they tell you they can't say for certain how to interpret it. But I go to jail if they're wrong. My butt is on the line here, you know?"

OFAC Acting Director John E. Smith sent a statement to Newsweek affirming that Persian carpets can now be imported and exported freely to and from the U.S., as well as to and from third-party countries, "as long as the transactions don't involve an export to Iran or to blocked Iranian persons."

It's not just the antique Persian rug business that's taken a hit. Sanctions also eroded the modern rug trade in Iran, according to Hamid Kargar, head of Iran's National Carpet Center in Tehran. Revenue from all Persian rug exports has fallen from around a billion dollars a year in 2000, the last time sanctions were lifted, to just over \$300 million a year today, he tells Newsweek. By 2010, just before the latest round of sanctions were reinstated, Persian rug exports to



the U.S. came to around \$80 million a year, or 16 percent of Iran's total shipments.

Inside Iran, sales of rugs are slightly greater than outside the country, so total revenue is around \$700 million to \$800 million a year. That is hardly enough to make up for the sanctions-related shortfall that's hammered the more than 1.5 million weavers, dye masters, yarn producers and designers relying on the industry for their livelihoods, Kargar says. "Despite the claim of targeted sanctions, the embargo on carpets was actually targeted directly at our culture, tradition and ordinary people," he says.

Unfortunately for the Iranian rug industry, while the U.S. and Iran were engaged in their lengthy standoff, the world moved on to more modern floor coverings. "Millennials are not buying traditional; they're looking for urban contemporary," says Richard Amatulli, membership chairman of the Oriental Rug Retailers of America, a nonprofit trade group based in Landrum, South Carolina. "Also, what's coming out of Iran is new stuff. All the old stuff, all the great stuff, they already got out. And the new stuff doesn't have a market yet."

On top of the sanctions, the Great Recession of 2008–2009 killed the price of Persian rugs, says Amatulli. "It's been devastating to the industry," he says. "I've seen some rugs priced at just one-tenth of what they'd been worth after the first round of sanctions in the 1980s."

For those looking to invest in a Persian rug for the first time, that's good news: Prices are at their lowest in decades.



Issei Kato/Reuters

# *NEW APP TURNS PHONES INTO EARTHQUAKE ALERT SYSTEM*

**SCIENTISTS WANT TO BUILD THE WORLD'S LARGEST EARTHQUAKE SENSOR USING THE BILLIONS OF SMARTPHONES WE COLLECTIVELY CARRY IN OUR POCKETS.**

---

When an earthquake hits, even a few seconds advance notice can be precious. Because digital communications

can outrun seismic waves, scientists at the Berkeley Seismological Laboratory have designed and released **MyShake**, a free Android app that crowdsources earthquake detection.

The app uses the same built-in accelerometers that tell your phone when to flip its screen orientation. They're sensitive enough to register quakes starting at magnitude 5.0—when shaking typically begins to damage built structures. After the scientists have tested it under public use, they plan to add an early warning feature, complete with a timer counting down to impact. At that point, perhaps a year from now, MyShake should be able to sense, report and alert users to an earthquake in less than a second. That would be a crucial heads-up, especially in parts of the world with no other seismic sensor network.

The brain of the app is an algorithm that picks earthquake vibrations out of the ordinary bumps, jumps and drops that phones endure daily. In tests on a shake table, the program correctly picked the vibrations of past quakes about 93 percent of the time. Once the app sees a match, the researchers explain in a paper published February 12 in the journal **Science Advances**, it reports to a central server along with its location. If a majority of nearby devices send the same report, the earthquake is confirmed.

“We want to get thousands of people using the app and record a couple of earthquakes to be sure that everything is working properly,” says Richard Allen, the project lead and director of University of California, Berkeley’s seismology lab. “We see this as rolling out a very dense seismic sensor, so it’s as much about recording data as it is about sending early warnings. That data will help us better understand earthquakes, how buildings respond to earthquakes and how to improve our earthquake resilience.”

Depending on their distance from the epicenter and the strength of the quake, users would get alerts anywhere



between a few tenths of a second to several minutes before shaking starts.

A few seconds is enough time for people to get to a safe place, like under a table, says Allen. During California's 1994 Northridge and 1989 Loma Prieta earthquakes, he adds, furniture, light fixtures and other falling hazards caused more than half of all injuries. It's also enough time for automated trains to slow or stop, for elevators to go to the nearest floor to avoid trapping riders and for sensitive data servers to protect valuable information. "Early warning can reduce the overall impact so that fewer people are affected and the region as a whole can pick itself up more quickly," says Allen.

The Berkeley Seismological Laboratory already helps oversee a network of 400 buried seismic stations in California. They're tied into ShakeAlert, a West Coast warning system that's under development. When a magnitude 6.0 earthquake hit South Napa in August 2014, the system sent a five to 10 second advance notice to nearby recipients such as the Bay Area Rapid Transit railway.

"ShakeAlert warnings automatically slow down all the trains. And if there is actual shaking, accelerometers on the tracks stop them," says Taylor Huckaby, a communications officer for the railway. "That mitigates a large disaster like a train derailing. When Berkeley approached us about it we were all aboard."

Rather than replace buried sensors, MyShake will support and multiply the data they provide. In parts of the world with no traditional seismic network, the app has the potential to quickly and cheaply increase public safety. "Nepal is a good example," says Allen, citing the earthquakes there in April and May of 2015 that killed nearly 10,000 people. "They have no seismic stations, but there are 6 million smartphones in the country and 600,000 in Kathmandu alone. There MyShake has a real opportunity to make a difference."

The app would be useful in such places, says Denis McClean, spokesman for the U.N. Office for Disaster Risk Reduction, so long as people know what to do once they get an alert: “They also need to understand how to react in those circumstances in a way that is safe. That is why earthquake drills are so important,” he says.

Of course the app will only work if people install it. Allen says MyShake needs at least 300 users in a given 68-square-mile area to work well. With an eye to retaining users, the scientists worked with Silicon Valley Innovation Center, part of Deutsche Telekom, to design the app to use as little memory and battery power as possible. The researchers’ dream is to get earthquake detection built into all phone operating systems, a goal that would probably require moving both heaven and earth to achieve.



Behrouz Mehri/AFP/Getty

# *CANCER 'VISIONARY' STANDS TRIAL FOR MEDICAL MALFEASANCE*

**CRITICS SAY BURZYNSKI'S CAVALIER ATTITUDE  
TOWARD MEDICAL BEST PRACTICES HAS PUT THE  
LIVES OF THOUSANDS OF PATIENTS AT RISK.**

---

When Sandra Cohen was diagnosed with breast cancer, she did whatever she could to avoid chemotherapy. She took homeopathic remedies and herbs, and she changed her diet.



She even tried laser therapy. Nothing worked. When she reached stage IV—the cancer metastasized to her lungs, clavicle bone and lymph nodes—her doctors were shocked. “The doctors here just kind of shook their heads and said, ‘How did you let this go so far?’” she recalls.

But she didn’t give up. Instead, she went to Stanislaw Burzynski.

As a young doctor in the 1970s, Burzynski began treating patients with antineoplastons, a collection of peptides, amino acids and amino acid derivatives he originally isolated from blood and urine. Since then, by his reckoning, he’s used the drugs to treat over 2,300 cancer patients—though he isn’t trained as an oncologist. He’s been the subject of laudatory documentaries and promoted by the likes of Dr. Mehmet Oz, the famous surgeon and TV personality, and Suzanne Somers, the actress-turned-naturopathic-medicine-advocate. “No one has worked harder, and no one has been more persecuted for his maverick approach,” Somers wrote in her book *Knockout: Interviews With Doctors Who Are Curing Cancer*.

But there's no verifiable evidence antineoplastons work. Nor are they the gentle treatment Burzynski claims them to be. He has run Food and Drug Administration–approved clinical trials on the drugs since the 1990s, during which time at least six study participants died from hypernatremia, or high levels of sodium in the blood—likely due to the sodium-rich antineoplastons. Among the victims was a 6-year-old boy.

Over the years, Burzynski has been the subject of numerous investigations and legal proceedings, brought by grand juries, the FDA and the Texas Medical Board. As it’s become more difficult to continue registering his patients in antineoplaston trials, Burzynski has treated patients in other ways, still outside the medical mainstream. He uses chemotherapy drugs in combinations that have not been

scientifically tested—and whose toxicities, according to the medical board, pose an unwarranted threat to patients.

Now the Texas Medical Board has brought yet another case against Burzynski, seeking to revoke his license. As the hearing got underway in Austin in November, some of the doctor's former patients and admirers gathered to support him and to protest with placards. "I am a naturalist, and I believe that the body can be healed without the use of burning, cutting and poisoning it," said one woman, whose sister died of lung cancer. "I am for whoever is trying to do their part in saving people from having to go through pain."

"When I was first diagnosed, I thought this was it. I started making plans for my funeral," Wayne Merritt says. It was 2009, he had pancreatic cancer metastasized to the liver, and his doctor gave him six months to live. Less than a year before, his wife, Lisa, had been diagnosed with breast cancer, and he saw how difficult it was for her to go through chemotherapy. Wayne was determined that he wouldn't spend the last six months of his life feeling sick.

But then Lisa heard about Burzynski. The Merritts went down to his clinic, where they learned Wayne didn't qualify for antineoplastons but might respond to some other drugs. The couple made it very clear, Lisa said, that Wayne didn't want chemo. They saw Burzynski for 10 minutes, then were turned over to his staff. Lisa says Wayne had a daily appointment with a woman wearing a name tag that said "Dr.," and whom the other staff called "doctor"—but who, the Texas Medical Board says, isn't licensed to practice medicine in Texas.

Back home in Armuchee, Georgia, they got a shock. On their next visit with their local oncologist, she looked at the clinic's prescriptions and dropped three bombshells: One, Wayne was indeed on chemotherapy, among other drugs; two, the medications would cost about \$30,000 a month—not the \$3,000 to \$6,000 a month they had been told; three,

his medication regimen was dangerous. “It was devastating,” Lisa says. “We felt like we got dropped on our face.”

In a 48-page complaint, the Texas Medical Board says Burzynski and his staff knowingly misled patients, attracting them to the clinic with the promise of being included in trials for antineoplastons, when they knew most of the patients wouldn’t qualify. The doctor or his staff told patients they would get the antineoplastons, before charging large retainers and ordering other treatments. The Burzynski clinic admits that about 5,700 of its 8,000 patients have received treatment other than antineoplastons.

The board alleges that Burzynski charged “exorbitant” amounts, billed for unnecessary tests, and failed to adequately disclose his stake in the pharmacy and laboratory that provided many patients’ drugs and tests. Perhaps even more worrying, the board says Burzynski and his staff made numerous medical and record-keeping errors, including misinterpreting scans and using the wrong tests to evaluate patients’ progress. Then there are the untested drug combinations. On its website, the Burzynski Clinic says it offers “personalized cancer therapy,” using genetic analysis to customize treatment for each patient. But in expert testimony for the medical board, Dr. Cynthia Wetmore, director of the Center for Clinical and Translational Research at **Emory–Children’s Pediatric Research Center** in Atlanta, said, “There’s not a possible way to tell what drug is helping and what drug is not helping. The drugs are given in unstandard [ sic ] combinations that never have been tested. They’re given in unstandard doses that are not known to be effective or safe. And combining them is experimenting on humans, which cannot be done outside a clinical study. That’s unethical. ”

The board concluded that because of Burzynski’s actions and those of his subordinates, “each of the patients in this case either suffered considerable toxicity effects or were put at significant risk of considerable toxicity effects.”



Burzynski takes a different view—he says the drug combinations are evidence of his innovative approach to medicine. In an email to his former lawyer, Richard Jaffe, in January 2015, he wrote, “It takes a single pioneer to abolish dogma and save countless lives. This is our contribution to medical science.” Burzynski argued that it’s unfeasible to restrict practitioners only to tested drug combinations, because with almost 100 cancer drugs, testing every combination of five agents would result in “hundreds of thousands of trials.” (Burzynski and his lawyers did not respond to a request for comment.)

But this misrepresents how drug research is done, says Andrew Vickers, attending research methodologist at Memorial Sloan Kettering Cancer Center. “You can’t do large randomized Phase III trials of all these different combinations of treatments—that’s why we do animal experiments. That’s why we do cell line experiments. That’s why we do Phase I and Phase II trials,” Vickers says.

Burzynski’s clinical trials for antineoplastons began in earnest after a 1996 appeals court ruling ordered him to stop prescribing the drugs or secure FDA study approval. But the Texas Medical Board says these clinical trials were severely flawed, and that Burzynski knowingly misled patients by describing the drugs as safe and effective when there wasn’t enough scientific study to make that determination. The most reliable scientific sources agree with the board’s assessment of antineoplastons. The National Cancer Institute (NCI), part of the National Institutes of Health (NIH), says in its [summary guidance](#) for health professionals, “No randomized controlled trials showing the effectiveness of antineoplastons have been published in the peer-reviewed scientific literature.”

Because of the lack of strong scientific evidence, there is little concrete information about the toxicity or side effects of the drugs. On the one hand, says Dr. Wayne Jonas, who reviewed antineoplastons for NCI, the drugs

probably have a lower toxicity than some chemotherapies prescribed for brain cancer. But on the other, studies of antineoplastons have observed serious side effects, including severe neurological toxicity, bone marrow suppression, hypernatremia, fatigue, stupor and coma, and potassium deficiency in the blood.



*After making headlines in 1997 for violating Food and Drug Administration regulations in his use of an unapproved cancer treatment, Dr. Stanislaw Burzynski is once again in a Texas courthouse for administering unproven cancer treatments. Credit: Pat Sullivan/AP*

As far back as 1994, an FDA inspection found that Burzynski was misrepresenting side effects as minimal. Eighteen years later, a 6-year-old boy in one of Burzynski's trials died with hypernatremia. When the FDA found out, they put a partial hold on his trials, forbidding him from enrolling children. Later, the agency expanded the hold to include adults. As part of his effort to lift the hold, Burzynski sent the FDA an analysis of 2,185 trial subjects. Nearly half had suffered hypernatremia; the FDA argued that Burzynski had underestimated the number of cases caused by antineoplastons in this analysis and especially in his trial

brochure, which claimed, “Most cases were not related to antineoplaston therapy.”

While the FDA continued its back-and-forth with Burzynski over the trial data and marketing materials, patients continued to desperately seek out his help. The parents and grandfather of a New Hampshire 12-year-old with a brain tumor were convinced that antineoplastons were their girl’s last chance, so they petitioned the FDA, secured a local doctor to oversee the treatment, and even wrote to their senator. In March 2014, they were finally granted a rare exemption.

But the family—who declined to speak with Newsweek — still needed a nurse to administer the antineoplastons, and the Burzynski Clinic said that nurse had to get trained in Houston. “At the time, I had a 7-month-old baby that was being exclusively breast-fed,” the nurse, Ariel Dye, says. She told the family she couldn’t just hop on a plane, but they said “we’re looking for someone to go tomorrow.” After a sleepless night, Dye decided to volunteer her services, accepting only travel expenses. But soon after she arrived in Houston for her training, she became suspicious. The training took only 30 minutes—for which, she says, the family was charged thousands of dollars.

At this point, Dye knew something about antineoplastons, and the scant evidence of their efficacy. Still, she fulfilled the family’s wishes, returning to New Hampshire and administering the antineoplastons. The drugs were debilitating, causing hypernatremia that led to anemia and sleepiness. Every day, she and the family debated whether to continue, knowing that this could be the girl’s last summer. After a few weeks, the family discontinued the treatment, and a few months later the girl passed away. Dye says the clinic never followed up with the family, either before or after the girl’s passing.

After two years of Ping-Ponging records and paperwork with Burzynski, in June 2014, the FDA decided that the



doctor's submissions to the agency had finally addressed its concerns around poor documentation, and it lifted the clinical hold.

Burzynski's supporters contend he is the victim of a staid and corrupt medical establishment. The popular *Burzynski: The Movie*, a two-part documentary by independent filmmaker Eric Merola, portrays the doctor as a visionary who has developed lifesaving drugs—but can't get them into the hands of patients because of government and industry obstruction. "Since the mid-1900s, the cancer industry—which means the National Cancer Institute, the FDA, the American Cancer Society, the AMA and some other organizations—have all been involved in one way or another in suppressing any treatments for cancer that are not put out by Big Pharma," says Tanya Harter Pierce, author of the book *Outsmart Your Cancer*, which includes a chapter praising Burzynski's work.

Chatting with supporters during a break in his Texas Medical Board hearing in November, Burzynski also struck a conspiratorial note, saying of the board, "They're working for big institutions, and their business is to get rid of the people who really are trying to do something on their own, without taking tons of government money." He said the board was trying to shield major cancer research bodies from tough questions about why he had succeeded where they had failed. "They are spending billions of dollars, and in a city like Houston we are the only ones who have come up with the discovery of an original anti-cancer medicine."

But Vickers says so-called "alternative" therapies do get institutional support. He chairs an acupuncture research collaboration and has published his acupuncture findings in *JAMA*. "The idea that there's these conspiracies to keep out unusual therapies, I just find nonsensical," Vickers says.

When you cut through all the grandiose claims, Burzynski's drug trials appear to be a smokescreen. His goal, it seems, isn't to prove his invention through the

scientific process but only to treat as many patients with antineoplastons as he can. That claim doesn't come from his critics—it comes from his former lawyer, Richard Jaffe. “As far as clinical trials go, it was a joke,” he wrote of one trial's design in his book, *Galileo's Lawyer*. “It was all an artifice, a vehicle we and the FDA created to legally give the patients Burzynski's treatment.”

Given this startlingly frank admission, many critics ask why Burzynski is still allowed to run his clinic and to enroll patients in trials. “The FDA has inspected him quite a few times, and they always find stuff, but they never can quite seem to shut down his clinical trials,” says David Gorski, a surgical oncologist at the Barbara Ann Karmanos Cancer Institute, and a blogger who's written extensively about Burzynski. Gorski says he's asked the FDA why it hasn't shut down Burzynski, and they've never explained. When *Newsweek* asked the agency the same question, it responded with a general statement, making no reference to Burzynski, saying simply that it takes action based on its most recent inspections, using all available information.

Yale University oncology professor Joseph Paul Eder argues that it's not really the FDA's job to stop trials just because a drug doesn't do anything. The system isn't built that way. “Typically, whoever's funding [the trial], the institution, NIH, or somebody else, would say, ‘You're not meeting your goals. We're going to need to stop the study,’” Eder says. Since Burzynski funds his own trials—at least in part through patient fees—and hasn't established a partnership with any institution, there's never been anyone to apply the brakes.

But years of legal battles may have taken their toll. Last year, Jaffe quit as Burzynski's lawyer, claiming he was owed \$248,000 in legal fees. The two eventually settled out of court, but not before the action forced Burzynski—a one-time donor to Congressman Joe Barton (R-Texas) and

former Texas governor Rick Perry—to reveal that that he was \$1.1 million in the red.

Sandra Cohen is a Burzynski success story—sort of. She went to him seeking antineoplastons, and when she didn't qualify, she reluctantly started on chemotherapy and later agreed to surgery. Five years later, she is cancer-free. “Dr. Burzynski saved my life,” Cohen says.

The Merritts also found an unexpected happy ending. They enrolled Wayne at a new clinic, one that used chemotherapy. Wayne also made dietary changes and took supplements. Two years into the new regimen, his pancreatic tumor shrank for the first time. Four years after that, the tumor is stable. Contrary to all expectations, he is alive. But Lisa says this is in spite of—not because of—the 20 days Wayne spent on Dr. Burzynski's drug regimen. Of her time at the clinic, she says, “We were deceived.... Nothing was as it seemed.”

Meanwhile, Burzynski has vowed to keep fighting. The medical board hearing was due to wrap up in January, but after Burzynski was diagnosed with a heart condition, his lawyers successfully campaigned to put off the remainder of the trial to May. For his supporters and critics, the delay is nothing new—just another temporary cease-fire in a conflict that's gone on for four decades.

“Ultimately what we have will be approved because it works, it will benefit people,” Burzynski told supporters at the Texas Medical Board hearing in November. “Whatever they're doing here, it will be exposed, and these people will be taken to justice because of their actions. They slow down the progress of cancer research and thousands of people will die needlessly. There'll be something like the Nuremberg trial for them in the future.”





LEVER Architecture

## *WOODEN BUILDINGS AS STRONG AS STEEL*

**A CARBON-SEQUESTERING CONSTRUCTION  
TECHNOLOGY IS TAKING ROOT IN OREGON.**

---

Portland, Oregon, home to all things craft and micro, is emerging as the hub of a potential construction revolution that relies on materials from a century ago. Buildings as high as 12 stories made from wood—or, more specifically, multilayered wood panels such as cross-laminated timber engineered from Douglas fir cut down in the state's forests

—are cropping up across the city with hopes of spurring new projects here and across the country.

Erecting tall buildings—normally the domain of steel or concrete—with engineered wood, or “mass timber,” has already been done in Australia and Europe, but this type of construction is nearly nonexistent in the United States. Done right, the buildings are cheaper to build and safer in disasters than steel and concrete ones, say proponents. And despite all the dead trees they entail, they’re also more environmentally friendly: The buildings actually sequester carbon in their wooden frames, whereas concrete manufacturing emits large amounts of carbon dioxide.

The tallest wooden-framed buildings in the U.S. are under construction in Portland, a city whose ports have historically sent the state’s vast timber wealth around the world. “This is really the wave of the future,” says architect Benjamin Kaiser, whose firm has plans for an eight-story timber-framed residential building in the city. He describes cross-laminated timber, or CLT, as the “holy grail” as far as replacing concrete is concerned, since it’s lighter, stronger and better for the environment.

One of the primary ingredients in concrete is cement, and to make cement you need to heat and grind up limestone or a similar material. In addition to the energy required to maintain that heat, approximately 1 ton of carbon dioxide is emitted per ton of cement produced, **according to the U.N.** And because concrete is the second-most consumed substance, after water, on the planet, cement production accounts for as much as 8 percent of human-produced carbon dioxide emissions.

Using wood building materials to cut into that concrete reliance would have an added benefit: Trees absorb carbon dioxide, removing it from the atmosphere, and while they can take in more while living, a cut tree retains a portion of that gas in its wood, meaning a building made of wood is a repository of sequestered carbon. A living forest can

obviously hold much more carbon dioxide than dead planks of wood. However, since CLT and other engineered wood products use lots of small pieces of lumber, the trees they are made from are young—generally 20 to 25 years, according to Kaiser—which means they haven’t trapped as much CO<sub>2</sub> as old-growth forest. In addition, CLT can often include wood that is beetle-damaged or already dead for other reasons.

Kaiser’s office is inside another building he designed, and wood is everywhere. Wood beams run across the ceiling supporting tongue-and-groove wood floors. Wood posts hold up the flowing five-story structure, dubbed the Radiator building, around a courtyard with white chromosome-shaped benches framed by wooden siding. His firm, Kaiser Design, describes it as the first all-timber building of its size built in a century and a demonstration of the environmental benefits of carbon sequestration in buildings. They hope it kicks off a rebirth of using that centuries-old building material in large commercial buildings.

Across the Willamette River, in the Pearl District, Lever Architecture makes its home in a much different type of wooden building. The converted warehouse was built a century ago. Massive whitewashed columns of old-growth Douglas fir hold up floors made of layers of two-by-sixes lined up on end. It’s old Portland, representative of an age before tall buildings were made with concrete and steel. Lever Architecture and developer Project<sup>^</sup> now have plans to build one of the new-generation tall wooden buildings. Construction on its 12-story, mixed-use Framework project is set to begin by the end of 2016. The wood is expected to come from Riddle, Oregon, three hours down Interstate 5 from Portland and home to the only U.S. plant certified to build structural-grade CLT. Lever architect Thomas Robinson compares it to farm-to-table eating, in which food is sourced directly from local producers. “Oregon is one of



the largest producers of timber in the country, so why not use that timber here?”



*Wood posts hold up the five-story Radiator building, the first all-timber building of its size built in a century and a demonstration of the environmental benefits of carbon sequestration in buildings.* Credit: Caitlin Murray/Kaiser Group Inc.

In northeast Portland, across the street from a coffee shop and a parking lot filled with food trucks, workers were assembling the third floor of a future office-and-retail building on a gray February day. Assembling is apt because, unlike concrete that is poured or lightweight timber framing that is cut on site into beams and studs, CLT is finished at the plant according to precise designs. When it arrives at the construction site, it is fastened into place in a way that is frequently compared to building an IKEA product. “It’s like putting together a cabinet. It’s just boards with metal connectors. If someone’s getting a saw out on site, that’s not good,” Robinson says.

This project, Albina Yard, is using CLT made from Oregon Douglas fir. At the DR Johnson plant three hours to the south—the first in the country to make structural-grade panels—the timber is planed down to a thickness of



1.375 inches, laid flat and set end to end in a single layer. Another layer is glued on top perpendicularly, then another layer glued perpendicular to that and so on—generally three layers of boards for walls and five for floors, according to Lech Muszynski, a wood science professor at Oregon State University—until it is sent into a massive custom-built press for a couple of hours while the glue sets.

Constructing multistory buildings out of wood isn't without its challenges. If you live in the Pacific Northwest, you probably know that a wooden door that opens and shuts cleanly in the summer will, when the wet winter arrives, suddenly stick. What, critics say, will happen when an entire building is constructed out of a porous material that can soak up liquids? Water is a problem that is still being solved, says Timm Locke, of the trade group Oregon Forest Resources Institute. But, he adds, CLT and related products—such as the beams of glulam, another engineered material made of small pieces of wood layered and glued together to make something much stronger than its collective parts—should be able to manage the swelling and contracting of wood. Small gaps between the CLT slabs on the floor, hidden under the beams where they meet, would allow for the natural expansion, without the stress and buckling that could happen in a more conventional wood floor.

Living in a wooden high-rise might raise fears that the building could go up like a campfire, but proponents tout the fact that large trees are naturally fire-resistant. They char, and that char retards the fire from burning all the way through. They say these layered-wood beams and slabs are basically large logs, burning at a rate of 1.5 inches per hour, according to Robinson. Robinson likened it to trying to light a log with a match, and both pointed to photos of melted steel I-beams collapsed over charred but clearly still intact wood beams.

Seismic safety may be the biggest remaining question mark, especially for a region like the Pacific Northwest,

where there's much more earthquake risk than Europe. Concrete reinforced by rebar can bend and crack without breaking, but it is also heavy and, Robinson says, "that weight attracts force," potentially increasing the impacts of the shaking. He says CLT and other mass timber products have a high strength-to-weight ratio that mitigates that problem. Still, he says, "when we start going much higher than 150 feet, it will probably have to be a hybrid building with a concrete core."

In Europe, most of these questions have been answered. But they'll need to be reinvestigated in the U.S., where codes for building large, multistory buildings out of wood are nonexistent. Once they're addressed, more and more projects like the 12-story Framework construction, the four-story Albina Yard building and Kaiser's eight-story Carbon Twelve will likely begin to rise across the country's major cities.

But it might turn out that those projects are simply a beta test for the real next-gen wooden buildings in the design pipeline. Those designs all use wood materials as replacements for concrete slabs and steel I-beams. But, says Muszynski, future designs should account for the unique advantages of a material like CLT. Consider its weight: relatively nonexistent, at least compared with concrete. That, says Muszynski, enables lower stories to support the weight of a building in a disaster, which means the materials are perfect for a simple, boxlike construction design in which every wall, internal and external, is weight-bearing—not unlike a very tall, very strong log cabin—rather than relying on the supporting columns and posts like most conventional high-rises. It's "like large wood origami," says Muszynski.

The light weight—combined with the simple wooden box design and the fact that CLT comes in prefabricated panels, sometimes as long as 60 feet—also means huge labor, time and cost savings. A [time-lapse video](#) shot in 2013 of a wooden Melbourne apartment building being

constructed next to an identical concrete one shows workers putting the finishing touches on the former while the concrete twin is still only a few floors tall.

Correction: A previous version of the article inaccurately stated that the layered wood beams used in wooden construction burn at a rate of 1.5 millimeters per hour. They actually burn at approximately 1.5 inches per hour. In addition, the article misstated the hybrid building would be required for any structure over 80 feet. In fact, wooden building architects and developers believe they can go 150 feet high without a concrete core.





Ron Haviv/VII

## *ON THE HUNT FOR THE BALKANS' MOST WANTED*

**A NEW BOOK CHRONICLES THE MOST EXTENSIVE  
MANHUNT FOR WAR CRIMINALS SINCE WORLD WAR II.**

---

The Bosnian Muslim women camping out in the cornfield were shattered. Some sobbed, while others sat silently, staring into space. It was a baking hot summer in July 1995, and the town of Srebrenica had just fallen to the Bosnian Serbs. “They were completely traumatized,” recalls



the British journalist Julian Borger, who was covering the war in Bosnia for The Guardian and the BBC. He is now the diplomatic editor of The Guardian. “They had just had their husbands, fathers and sons torn away from them and executed in a series of mass killings. I remember one woman remonstrating with another: ‘How could you have let him out of your sight?’”

Borger had been covering the war for two years, but he had never seen anything like the scenes in this cornfield or heard stories like those told by the women there. He saw the body of one woman, Ferida Osmanovic, whose husband had been executed; she hanged herself from a tree.

Srebrenica, a city in eastern Bosnia, was a U.N.-declared safe area. A civil war that began in 1992 had largely divided the former Yugoslav republic by ethnic group. That part of the country was home to Muslims. Serbs, whom most Western nations consider the aggressors in the war, held the territory on all sides of it. A unit of Dutch peacekeepers was posted in the town, where the people relied on U.N. aid convoys for food. But the outnumbered, frightened peacekeepers had stood by when the Bosnian Serbs moved to gain control of Srebrenica in July 1995. And they stood by as the Serbs then took away more than 8,000 Muslim men and boys.

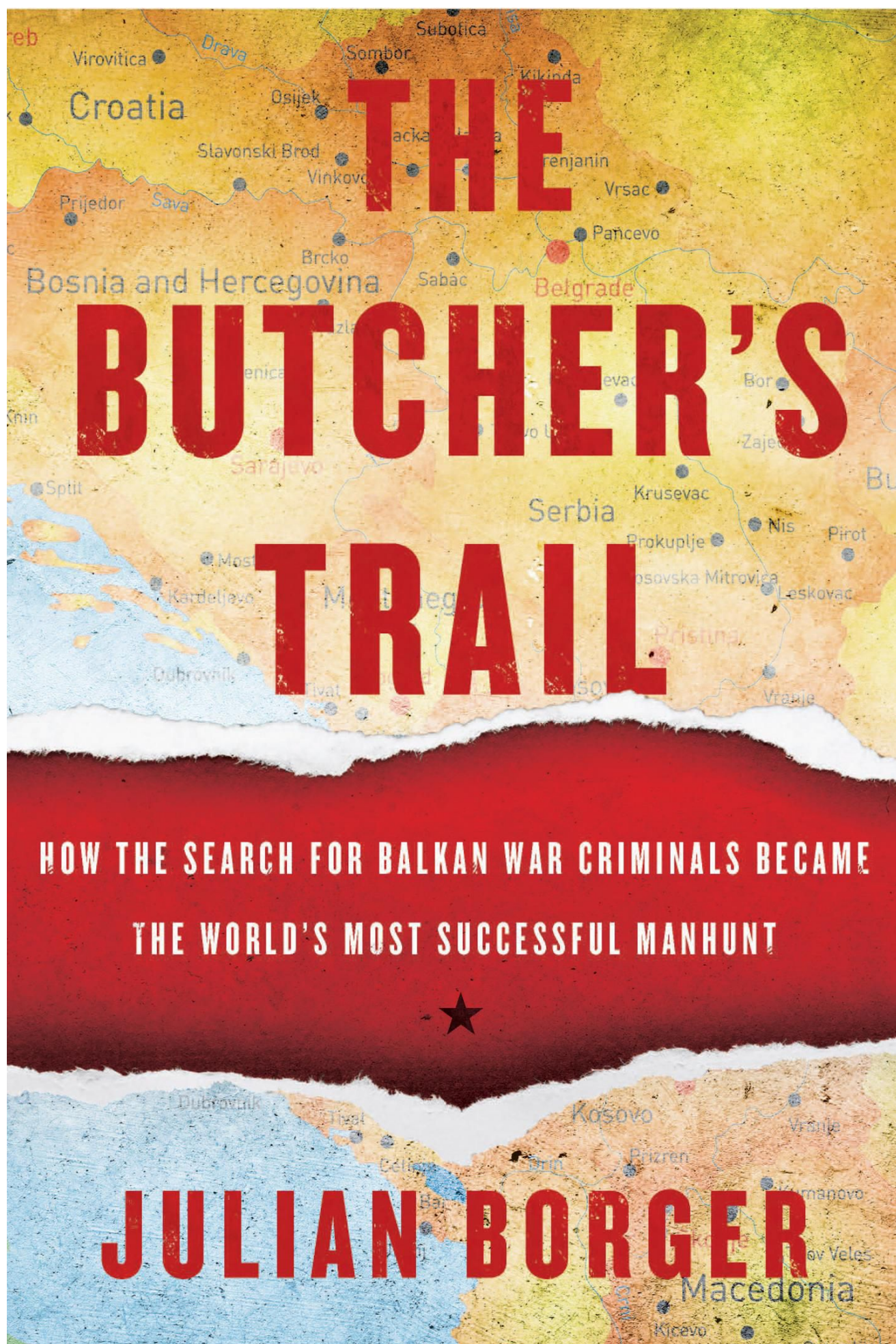
The scenes that followed were reminiscent of the Einsatzgruppen, the Nazi extermination squads that massacred hundreds of thousands of Jews in Eastern Europe during World War II. Day after day, the prisoners were bussed to execution sites, where they were shot and then buried in mass graves. Western spy satellites monitored some of the burial grounds, and a morning’s worth of airstrikes could have saved thousands of lives. But the airstrikes never came.

NATO airstrikes against Bosnian Serb forces finally began in August 1995, a month after the Srebrenica massacre. Soon after, the warring sides struck a complex

peace deal in Dayton, Ohio, that divided Bosnia into three parts and intended to give equal representation to the three ethnic groups: Bosnian Muslims, Serbs and Croats. The agreement put an end to a three-year war that claimed around 100,000 lives.

Shamed by its policies during the war and its failure to stop what happened at Srebrenica—the worst atrocity in a war that was not short on them—the West resolved to address its failures. In May 1993, the U.N. Security Council had established the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY). It couldn't stop the violence in the Balkans, but it ruled that Srebrenica was genocide and set about trying to bring those responsible to trial. Borger's new book, *The Butcher's Trail*, is an account of what became the most extensive hunt for war criminals since the end of World War II. "We failed, pathetically, to stop that crime we could so easily have prevented, but at least, belatedly, we went after the killers," Borger says. "It was an important thing to do."





*"The Butcher's Trail," by Julian Borger. Credit: Other Press*

The book had its genesis in an article about the hunt Borger wrote for The Guardian in August 2011. He quickly realized that there was much more to tell. "I felt like I was



coming across a scene of untold history. The ICTY was also partial redemption for the world's failures in Bosnia."

Borger, who was part of The Guardian reporting team that won the 2014 Pulitzer Prize for public service journalism for the paper's coverage of the surveillance files revealed by former American intelligence operative Edward Snowden, handles the complicated story with flair and confidence. Vividly written, packed with lively character sketches of spymasters, lawyers and diplomats, *The Butcher's Trail* is a deeply researched account of the hunt for some of the worst war criminals of the late 20th century.

In some places, it reads like a spy thriller, as the narrative takes us to isolated mountain villages, the offices of high-level government officials and inside intelligence agencies. Along the way, Borger reveals new details of the operations to arrest the ICTY's most wanted. He tells the story of how Slavko Dokmanovic, the first indicted war criminal arrested by U.N. troops, was captured by a small group of Polish special forces soldiers, hooded and put on an airplane to the Hague. He also describes for the first time how Goran Hadzic, a former leader of the Croatian Serbs and the last indicted suspect arrested, was tracked down after French spies infiltrated the Balkans' black market in stolen art.

Borger is especially strong on the international intrigue, as rival intelligence services intervened in investigations, governments backtracked on their financial commitments and ICTY officials faced obstruction and resistance from some Western officials opposed to a new U.N. court over which they had no control.

Some of the most fascinating material in *The Butcher's Trail* concerns Borger's revelations about the ICTY's ultra-secretive tracking unit. In the period immediately after the 1995 Dayton Accords, the international community showed little interest in arresting high-level perpetrators. Western powers were more concerned with keeping Bosnia's fragile

peace than arresting war criminals. NATO soldiers deployed in Bosnia would pretend not to see those wanted by the ICTY as they traveled freely in the country.

Although Western intelligence services were not interested in arresting perpetrators, the ICTY's tracking unit, staffed by former spies and investigators, was. And it had a powerful mandate—U.N. member states were obliged to cooperate, but the CIA and MI6 were not tasked with finding suspects until 1997.

“This was a small group of people that was instrumental in finding suspects,” says Borger. “They were very dedicated, light on their feet and much more efficient than the CIA or MI6. People talked to the ICTY who would not talk to the CIA or MI6.” Some of the techniques used by the tracking unit to locate suspects were later used, and honed, in the pursuit of terrorism suspects after 9/11.

There is occasional humor in a book filled with the depraved stories of men who clearly took pleasure in dehumanizing their victims. Borger describes how U.S. special operations forces shipped a full-size gorilla suit to Bosnia in their hunt for Radovan Karadzic, the leader of the Bosnian Serbs. The plan was to dress a soldier in the costume, which would distract Karadzic's convoy enough for the psychiatrist-turned-demagogue to be snatched without bloodshed. (Karadzic was arrested in Belgrade in 2008, where he had been living under a false name and working as a faith healer.)



*In this 2002 photo, a Bosnian couple walks by a poster of Bosnia's two most wanted war crimes suspects, Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs, and his commander Ratko Mladic, in Sarajevo. Credit: Sava Radovanovic/AP*

Over 20 years, the ICTY indicted and arrested 161 individuals for war crimes and genocide—only a tiny fraction of the perpetrators. Fourteen of those involved in the Srebrenica massacre were convicted on charges of genocide and other war crimes. Cases against Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, the Bosnian Serbs' military commander, are ongoing.

But many of the low-level perpetrators of the massacre and other crimes—the drivers, the guards, the men who pulled the trigger—have escaped justice. Thousands of people were intimately involved in what amounted to criminal enterprises. Take Srebrenica: The operation took place over several days in July 1995 and required detailed planning, logistics and transport, as well as burial squads. Victims were hunted down as they tried to escape through the woods, incarcerated in makeshift prison camps, and beaten and tortured before they were murdered. Witness



“O,” whose name and identity the ICTY withheld out of concerns for his safety, said in testimony against Radislav Krstic, a Bosnian Serb general, “From all of what I have said and what I saw, I could come to the conclusion that this was extremely well organized.” Two whole brigades of Bosnian Serb soldiers took part in the operation, along with additional troops and police officers.

“With that level of killing, there would never be full justice; it could only be partial,” says Borger. War crimes investigations units have been set up in Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, but the legal process inside the former Yugoslavia, already slow and uncertain, often falters under pressure. In January, the Court of Bosnia-Herzegovina was forced to issue a statement calling on politicians, journalists and lawyers to immediately cease attempts to “politicize the institution and degrade the work of its judges.”

The Butcher’s Trail can sometimes feel relentless; the book would have benefited by varying its pace, stepping out of the Balkans and adding more historical context. Nonetheless, it is an important work that adds greatly to our understanding of how international criminal justice has evolved and offers lessons for future war crimes investigations. “International justice for mass killers can be enforced when the international community agrees on the benchmarks and to cooperate,” Borger says. “Impunity for mass killers is not inevitable.”

It was the prospect of European Union membership—and the torrent of funds that would follow acceptance into the union for countries such as Serbia—that also helped nab Yugoslavia’s killers. Some of the most ardent nationalists, on all sides, soon tempered their enthusiasm for sheltering indicted suspects once it was made clear that EU membership was dependent on cooperation with the ICTY. Others escaped justice. Dokmanovic hanged himself in his cell. Slobodan Milosevic, the former Serbian president, died in his during his trial.

The ICTY, despite its early problems and limited mandate, achieved much, says Borger. “The way to look at it is, What if there was no ICTY, and the tribunal had not gone after people? What would that mean for international justice? Yes, the glass is half-full, but that half is significant.”

Julian Borger is the author of *The Butcher’s Trail: How the Search for Balkan War Criminals Became the World’s Most Successful Manhunt*. Adam LeBor is the author of *Complicity With Evil: The United Nations in the Age of Modern Genocide*.



Vittorio Zunino Celotto/Getty

# *A CONVERSATION WITH DENİZ GAMZE ERGÜVEN*

**THE FRANCO-TURKISH DIRECTOR ON SEEING THE  
WORLD THROUGH THE EYES OF TEENS.**

---

Once upon a time, five beautiful teenage sisters lived in a sleepy seaside Turkish town. After a magical day wandering around with local boys, they returned to their home to find that their innocent excursion had sparked gossip among the neighbors. Worried for their bodies and their prospects, the



girls' family locked them inside the house, a "wife factory" created to preserve the young ladies' purity.

Though it seems like a dark fairy-tale, *Mustang*, the dreamy debut film by Franco-Turkish filmmaker Deniz Gamze Ergüven, subverts the traditional coming-of-age story while taking a jab at the politics of modern Turkey. In recent years, she says, the country's extremely conservative government has attempted to control women's lives, from regulating the number of children they can have to suggesting they not laugh in public (as Deputy Prime Minister Bülent Arınç did in 2014). But the protagonists of Ergüven's dark comedy refuse to be suppressed and find ways to use the reasoning behind their imprisonment as their eventual means of escape.

A hit at Cannes, *Mustang* has been nominated for best foreign language film at the Academy Awards. Ergüven also holds another distinction: She is one of just two female directors whose feature films are nominated in any Oscar category this year, along with Liz Garbus, who directed the documentary *What Happened, Miss Simone?*

How's the reception to your film been in Turkey?

From family and friends, extremely positive. The reaction in Turkey is very polarized. You have people who love it and hate it. But as the film has more of a life abroad and people fight about the film on social media, the conflict in those fights is exactly the conflict which is in the film. Some people say, "Seeing those girls in front of the camera half-naked, it makes me sick to my stomach." Then another person says, "Well, if you looked at them as kids, you wouldn't say things like this." People view the film, and they see the world for an hour and a half through the eyes of a 13-year-old girl. It's quite an exercise for men. In our history, we're used to seeing through the eyes of men; we know how the world looks to them. So for men, it's a broadening experience.

Do you feel like it's getting easier for women to make films?

We're missing out on so many things by not having films by women. It's not just a question of equity—having the same figures, salaries. Womanhood is still something quite exotic. But the fact that we're talking about the [inequity], it's going to eventually change something. As a filmmaker a decade ago, it was so much harder. Even for *Mustang*, it was hard to trigger trust! We still feel uneasy if we see a woman pilot when we get on a plane, and people do that with women filmmakers too. They wonder if we can land that plane, if they can trust us with that. So it's been harder as a woman filmmaker because of that, but the reactions I had a decade ago were worse.

How do you probe topics that are taboo in Turkey, like sexuality, in the film?

There's an algorithm to Turkish humor. At some point, I couldn't describe it, and then I found the perfect situation to explain it: A few months ago, a director of a university decided he would build a mosque inside the technical university of Istanbul. And the students said, "We don't need a mosque. There's mosques all over the city." And the director said, "No, I had a very long petition and so many signatures of people who want the mosque in the university. We have to build it." And the very next day, students had something like thousands of signatures petitioning for a Buddhist temple in the university.

That to me is the algorithm: Respond with the same absurd logic with which you're confronted.

Have you been following the #OscarsSoWhite controversy?

For me, the Oscar is just the reflection of something which is ever there. The first film I ever wrote took place in South Central Los Angeles, and the characters were African-American. And I had discussions with producers—without

any kind of cynicism—saying I couldn't sell a film with African-Americans to Japan or Germany. For me, African-Americans were the most glamorous people in the world, and they said it was urban and for a narrower audience. There is racism, and it's not even just on the production side. It's on the side of who is buying the tickets too.

I think it's great that we have this discussion, but the problem is not the Oscars. Boycotting the Oscars is not the solution. If someone feels underrepresented and gets to go, they have to go. And I feel like proactive steps have to be done at the level of production. That's where you put in very strong actors who are minorities and strong women characters. That's where the act of change is possible.





NOMI BAUMGARTL &amp; JENS SCHNABEL

## *CLEANSE YOUR SPIRIT AT EUROPE'S LAVISH PARKSCHLÖSSCHEN*

**GERMAN TV EXECUTIVE WOLFGANG PREUSS'S  
SPA OFFERS ANCIENT INDIAN TREATMENTS TO THE  
WEALTHY AND STRESSED.**

---

These days, if you're feeling stressed, overweight or desperate to stop smoking and drinking, it's relatively easy to sort yourself out. All you need is a free week or two and a few thousand dollars to spare. Tick those boxes, and it won't be long before you're booked into a spa, where soft-spoken

staff will supervise micro meals and schedule exercise classes so that you can go home 5 to 10 pounds lighter. Problem solved—at least in the short term. And if you happen to hit on a spa underpinned by a serious philosophy, you might even end up changing your lifestyle for good. Parkschlösschen, a luxury retreat near Frankfurt, Germany, is just that kind of place.

The well-to-do superstressed have not always had that option. Twenty-six years ago, Wolfgang Preuss, the German entrepreneur who would go on to found Parkschlösschen, was expanding his successful IT and media technology empire. The son of an Opel car-factory worker, Preuss grew up poor in the western city of Mainz, and at 14 he left school to work as an apprentice technical engineer for the post office. Eight years later, he started his first company, installing home telephones, and was soon employing a workforce of 60. By his 40s, having spent two decades rewiring most of Germany and outfitting television and radio studios, Preuss—still living in Mainz—had turned into a chain-smoking, caffeine-fixated, alcohol-swigging insomniac. It was 1990, and workaholics like Preuss had few places they could go to unwind. A concerned friend took him to a small, scruffy Ayurvedic center in the Black Forest run by German followers of the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, which offered panchakarma detoxes.

Ayurveda? Panchakarma? At the time, hardly anyone outside India had heard of Ayurveda, the subcontinent's guidelines for living a healthy life as laid out in ancient Vedic texts more than 5,000 years ago. Ayurveda means “a science of life” in Sanskrit and is the world's oldest continuously practiced health system, emphasizing the importance of cleanliness, hygiene, pure food and water, routine and regular detoxification. Ayurveda's primary mind-body detoxification process is known as panchakarma, or “five actions,” so named for the five therapies that eliminate toxins from the body.



Preuss was blown away by his experience of panchakarma, if not by its setting. He emerged from his 10-day stay calmer, leaner and a convert, determined to set up a wholly authentic but five-star Ayurvedic clinic in Germany, where people could achieve balance and revamp their everyday life in a more comfortable setting. “I was amazed. He looked so good and was so full of energy,” says his wife, Brigitte, who translates for Preuss, whom she met working as his assistant in 1984.



*Parkschlösschen opened in 1993.* Credit: Ayurveda Parkschlösschen

Within months, Preuss had visited approximately 300 possible locations around Germany for the retreat. In April 1990, he discovered a 1920s art nouveau building in Traben-Trarbach, just outside Frankfurt, which had been empty for 13 years. Renovating and rebuilding it cost almost double his initial estimate, but the bigger-than-expected spend allowed him to follow Ayurvedic principles as much as possible, using only natural materials: wood, slate, marble, glass, wool and silk. Water for the entire plumbing system—pool and tap water included—was sourced from a spring discovered in the surrounding parkland. An Ayurvedic doctor from the Maharishi center (long defunct now) helped set up the panchakarma program, and the center’s German chef, who

had lived in India, took over the kitchens. “It was essential to Wolfgang that the smallest detail was correct,” says Brigitte.

Parkschlösschen opened in 1993. And after a shaky start—people initially thought Preuss and his team were a sect—it is now one of the few wholly Ayurvedic luxury spas outside India. Its 60 rooms are large and impeccably clean but simple, with no televisions or Wi-Fi. The detox begins with a diagnosis by the resident Ayurvedic doctors—pulse-taking, questions (“Does your head sweat at night?”)—and is followed by a regime of yoga, treatments performed by two therapists working in synchronicity, guided meditation, skin brushing and herbal inhalations. Coffee, black tea, alcohol, sugar, meat and all animal products (except clarified butter, or ghee, which is used for the detoxing process) are banned; guests eat three small, vegetarian meals per day that are tailored to their specific needs.

In the 1990s, most of the guests were in their 60s and 70s, but now many are in their 20s and 30s. Stressed escapees from the 21st century are quietly encouraged to do nothing—or at most, just read, stroll in the gardens or swim in the indoor pool under the gaze of a large Buddha. (Preuss is an enthusiastic collector of Buddha statues, and he opened Germany’s only Buddhist museum close to Parkschlösschen in 2009 to showcase all 2,000.) Lights out is at 9:30 p.m.

A restful week here can send one home lighter and righter. Long term, however, it is of course what you do on a daily basis that most affects how you feel. Here are a few Ayurvedic precepts to tide you over until you can visit Parkschlösschen or another Ayurvedic center: Eat a healthy diet of mostly fresh, vegetarian food; for good digestion, heat your food; get up and go to bed at the same times; drink at least two liters of water a day; practice yoga and do some gentle exercise daily; get outside into fresh air each day; leave time to read a book each day, switching off screens at least an hour before bed.



There are many more precepts and lessons to be learned from the Ayurvedic tradition. With the emphasis on purity, cleanliness and detoxification, its principles make sense. Some of the more demanding practices, however, such as cleansing the sinuses by passing a strip of linen up one nostril and out through the other, are perhaps best left to the experts. Even Preuss, who at the age of 69 has undergone panchakarma every six months for more than a quarter century, has yet to attempt that.



Ubisoft

# *HOW TO (VIRTUALLY) SURVIVE IN POST- APOCALYPSE MANHATTAN*

**THE NEW TOM CLANCY VIDEO GAME 'THE DIVISION' IS A MIX OF SECRET AGENTS, BIOTERRORISM AND POLITICAL CONSPIRACY.**

---

The late Tom Clancy is a household name (or, at the very least, an airport name) because the author of best-selling spy thrillers such as *Clear and Present Danger* made his readers

believe the intricate espionage plots and terrorist attacks in his novels could really happen the way they did on the page. Through military jargon and agency insight, Clancy's detail-heavy narratives sold a lot of books and, starting with the release of Tom Clancy's Rainbow Six in 1998, a lot of video games too.

Clancy's gaming franchises have sold more than 50 million units over 17 years. In addition to Rainbow Six, there's Tom Clancy's Splinter Cell and Tom Clancy's Ghost Recon, each brand a stand-alone series involving multiple games. All told, more than 40 titles have been released on every major platform, from the debut of Rainbow Six on Nintendo 64 to the recent launch of Tom Clancy's The Division on Xbox One, PlayStation 4 and PC. Each previous title is centered on tactical gameplay and accurate details, so when Ubisoft announced The Division, fans knew it would be pretty realistic.

The Division posits a plausible terror: a biological attack on Manhattan that turns the New York City borough into a lawless dead zone. Players are part of the Division, a group of civilian agents who become active only in the event of total societal collapse. It's an urban warfare game, and players patrol an obsessively intricate cityscape riddled with looters and gangsters. For Ubisoft, the commitment to a Clancy-esque level of realism is crucial, and it goes beyond the game itself. Ubisoft wants to build worlds, and the company is accomplishing it with a unique companion book that is part survival guide, part epistolary novel.

Titled Tom Clancy's The Division: New York Collapse, the book looks like it was found in a doomsday bunker. It's weathered, torn and waterproofed with wax. Printed inside is an honest-to-goodness survival guide full of tips about snaring rabbits in Central Park and making space heaters out of terra-cotta flower pots. But the survival guide is only one layer of New York Collapse. Scrawled in what looks like a handwritten font through the margins is the firsthand account

of April Kelleher, a 30-something Brooklynite trapped in the citywide quarantine.

“It's a really rigorous exercise in point of view,” Alex Irvine, author of *New York Collapse*, tells *Newsweek*. “[April] is not a Division agent. She's got no specialized training. She's just like you or me. If the world ended today, what would we do?”

April's story is told with not only journal entries but also removable artifacts such as sticky notes, MetroCards and tourist maps. Since *The Division* exists in an open-world map of Manhattan's midtown, players can wander in the game and discover pieces of April's life. Certain elements illuminate gaps in her story, which is a combination of a survivor's tale and a murder mystery. Her husband, a biochemist, is gunned down the day the outbreak begins, and an overwhelmed police department can't be bothered to investigate.

“I really wanted to have April be a reader surrogate,” says Irvine. “I wanted it to be an interesting experience in its own right that also has the added dimension of interacting with this game space.”

Irvine combed through “a gazillion” survival guides before he wrote *New York Collapse*. Should there be an actual apocalypse in New York, survivors could turn to the book for tips on how to set a tourniquet or build a camp stove out of candle wax, cardboard and a tuna can.





*An image from the video game "The Division," by Ubisoft. Credit: Ubisoft*

“[Alex] definitely did his research. He wasn't making it up,” says John Galvin, a disaster expert who served as a consultant on *The Division*. “That's part of the whole Tom Clancy thing.”

Even the catastrophe at the heart of *The Division* is realistic. In 2001, the U.S. government launched Operation Dark Winter, a simulation designed to test the country's response to a dangerous outbreak. The results were bleak—overcrowded hospitals and civil anarchy soon followed. For Washington, the project served as a warning. For Massive, the Ubisoft-owned studio behind *The Division*, it served as inspiration.

“Everything started with the Dark Winter exercise,” says Martin Hultberg, intellectual property director at Massive. When they realized a bioterror attack created the right atmosphere for *The Division*, the Massive team members began researching the ideal scenario for maximum chaos. They realized it already existed: Black Friday.

“That footage we're seeing of people almost rioting in a supermarket to get stuff? That's almost what you see in Haiti after a disaster [when] people need to get to food and

water,” explains Hultberg. “There is such a scary prospect in the resemblance of those two events.”

In *The Division*, a smallpox-like virus known as the “dollar bug” spreads via contaminated ATM cash during Black Friday in Manhattan. Hultberg says the team was intrigued by a 2014 New York University study called “The Dirty Money Project,” which discovered that the linen-based U.S. currency is teeming with pathogens.

“It was real to me,” Galvin says. “If you just Google ‘the New York money project’ there’s some really nasty stuff that comes up. White rhinoceros DNA—that was one thing they found on one of the bills. They found DNA from, like, 100 different species.”

Irvine scatters pieces of all this throughout *New York Collapse* by using the fictitious author of the book, a mysterious figure named Warren Merchant, as an authority on survival and insider for the dollar bug pandemic. Hidden within the text are puzzles and secret codes that reveal Merchant knew about the attack before it happened. They range from simple word problems to a complex cryptograph, viewed only with the assistance of April’s modified MetroCard cipher.

“There are some puzzles that are actually pretty difficult,” Irvine says, which “most people, unless they’re serious puzzle nerds, are going to need some help to solve. And that was deliberate, because it drives people together and gets them talking in groups about the book. There’s player groups [in the game]. It’s a co-op experience. And so the book is a co-op experience too.”

April Kelleher may not be the next Jack Ryan, but Ubisoft’s work on *The Division* is in lockstep with what sets Clancy’s stories apart—a mix of secret agents, bioterrorism and political conspiracy, all designed to transport the audience into a fully realized world. Ubisoft hopes to combine all this with a thrilling, balanced multiplayer video

game and achieve the one thing that defines Clancy above all else: a best-seller.

Correction: An earlier version of this article said the book would come with the game. It will be sold alongside the game. It also said SOCOM was a Tom Clancy game. It was actually Ghost Recon.



01

## IN OR OUT?

London—Mayor Boris Johnson announces on February 21 that he will campaign for Britain to leave the European Union. Johnson is among the most popular Conservatives in Britain, so his declaration was a blow to Prime Minister David Cameron, who negotiated revised membership terms for Britain in the EU before calling for a referendum to take place on June 23. Polls suggest most Britons would vote to stay in the EU, but the margin is narrowing because of fears about the growing numbers of migrants and refugees, as well as criticism of how Europe has handled that crisis.



Peter Nicholls/Reuters



02

## CAMP JUNGLE

Dunkirk, France—A Kurdish boy looks out the window of a trailer in the Grande-Synthe camp for refugees and migrants in northern France on February 20. The number of residents at the camp has surged recently, boosted by people coming from the nearby camp in Calais known as the “jungle,” where French authorities ordered a partial evacuation. Aid groups have reported appalling conditions at both camps, where thousands of people from the Middle East and Africa take shelter on their way to Britain.



Federico Scoppa/Capta



03

## SOUTHBOUND

Columbia, South Carolina—Former Florida Governor Jeb Bush returns to his bus on February 18, two days before suspending his campaign for the Republican presidential nomination after a fourth-place finish in South Carolina's primary. Despite name recognition and a sizable war chest, Bush failed to mobilize enough support to contend with the GOP front-runners, such as Donald Trump, who won the southern primary by more than 10 percentage points over his closest competitors. After Bush's exit, several of his donors pledged to back Florida Senator Marco Rubio, his onetime protégé.



Gabriella Demczuk/The New York Times/Redux



04

## STOLEN VOTE

Ggaba, Uganda—A policeman struggles to keep hold of a ballot box as hundreds of angry voters who had waited more than seven hours to cast a ballot surround him, February 18. Upon discovering that there were only ballots for choosing members of parliament, and none with which to vote for president, the crowd overpowered the police, destroyed the ballots, and the polling station had to be abandoned. The electoral commission said difficulties in transporting electoral materials caused the delays, but main opposition candidate Kizza Besigye's supporters claimed the delays deliberately favored President Yoweri Museveni. Besigye was briefly detained towards the end of ballot counting on February 18 while trying to show reporters an alleged vote-rigging operation. The government also clamped down on access to social media on election day to stop people "telling lies," Museveni said. The 71-year-old incumbent is attempting to extend his 30-year rule in a race widely seen as the tightest in the East African state's history.





